Zoltán Niederreiter

CATALOGUE OF THE CYLINDER SEALS IN THE ROYAL MUSEUMS OF ART AND HISTORY

I

NEO-ASSYRIAN AND NEO-BABYLONIAN PERIODS (CIRCA 1000–500 B.C.)

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PREFACE

The collection of Near Eastern seals in the Royal Museums of Art and History started with a few donations recorded by the French Assyriologist Joachim Menant during his brief passage in Brussels in the late seventies of the 19th century. One of the still modest holdings' cylinder seals had originally belonged to Émile de Meester de Ravestein, former Belgian ambassador to the Holy See, in Rome, and an exuberant collector with a trained eye for historically relevant artefacts. The most remarkable cylinder seals of the original core, however, featuring an early dynastic version of the Sumerian Etana myth (O.45), was formerly owned by Napoleon's general Andréossy and, from the collection of the Belgian politician Gustave Hagemans, another cylinder illustrating the ritual adornment of a sacred tree, associated with the name of Xerxes (O.47). At the time, the latter was judged prestigious enough to illustrate the title page of the Ancient Persia volume in Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez' widely distributed encyclopaedic History of Art in Antiquity sequels.

Thanks to the expert help of French Assyriologists including the abbot Henri de Genouillac, Louis Delaporte, and Vincent Scheil, the leading Belgian classicist and specialist in mystery cults in the Roman Empire, Franz Cumont, was able to considerably expand the collection. Successive official scientific missions he led in the declining Ottoman Empire during his curatorship in the Royal Museums (1900–1914) most fortunately filled in some gaps in the collection's representativeness. Versed in both the fields of Egyptology and Assyriology, his successor Louis Speleers published the first comprehensive catalogue raisonné of 236 cylinder and stamp seals, impressions, and bullae in the frightening times preceding the end of World War I. He repeated this endeavour in the third devastating year of World War II, incorporating the collection of Louis Cugnin, as well as a fair share of additional pieces, into a supplement. The list of references he used while compiling this sequel does not mention the comprehensive study his compatriot, Antwerp-born Anton Moortgat, had devoted to the 783 cylinder seals in Berlin's Staatliche Museen, published in 1940 in the same city. Henri Frankfort's 1939 pioneering study *Cylinder Seals* edited in London the year before, on the contrary, is duly mentioned but not exploited to its full potential, as it would seem.

With other priorities on hand in an age of economic reconstruction, it took more than a generation to appreciate the importance of the glyptic collections Speleers painstakingly unveiled before his untimely death. But when the importance of the Brussels collection had eventually gained international recognition in the post-war academic world, scholars realised that already after less than two decades, a thorough revision of (meanwhile partly obsolete) data was needed. Edith Porada's *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, published in 1948 in Washington, D.C., heralded in a new age for glyptic studies in which innovative conclusions were formulated by a new generation of glyptic experts on the basis of the more refined parameters they used. In Europe, one such specialist – Pierre Amiet of the Louvre Museum – curated an exhibition in Paris in 1973 entitled *Bas-reliefs imaginaires de l'Ancien Orient d'après les cachets et les sceaux-cylindres*. The innovating scenography confronted ancient Near Eastern artefacts, mostly seals, with photographic blow-ups, an installation which simultaneously explained the exhibition's title but also the potential of ancient seals in the reconstruction of lost vestiges of ancient cultures. As an unexpected result, the public success stimulated an awareness of the potential of publications in this field in the world of editing, but also amongst decision makers overseeing scientific projects, scholarships, and the like.

In Brussels, stimulating discussions with a string of visiting scholars (frequently including our compatriot Dominique Collon) allowed the late Speleers' successors to correct, adjust, and update an ever-growing number of files of the glyptic holdings. In spite of some important clusters of new acquisitions now also including seals from Iran, the focus henceforth shifted to pre-publication research, lab analyses and museal upgrading of these particular heritage objects. Following the successful integration of the Brussels seal collection in 'Sleeping Beauties' operations in the collections of federal museums, the five years 'Interuniversity Attraction Pole' *Greater Mesopotamia* was launched by the Belgian Science Policy (BELSPO). Impressed by his profound knowledge of the Mesopotamian past and heuristic abilities ever since earlier meetings, I was delighted to have the opportunity to add a young Hungarian Assyriologist to the team of emerging young scholars I had the honour to supervise. Meanwhile a faculty member of the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Zoltán Niederreiter successfully realised, besides an impressive score of studies in leading scientific journals, the catalogue raisonné on hand of our Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian cylinder seals. The Royal Museums of Art and History and, in particular, its Antiquity Department, is indebted to Zoltán as well as to his university for a lasting participation in the project and the generous offer to publish it in the Assyriologia series. Our only regret is that in spite of the technologies of the modern digital humanity resources the members of our team efficiently tested, used, and refined, it proved impossible to verify the data on the materials used in the production of the cylinder seals. Such an operation will unfortunately have to await the last volume on the Brussels glyptic collection. Meanwhile, may this first volume serve as a long-standing incentive to disclose the seals from other periods of the rich past of the ancient Near East to scholars and the broader public as well.

Prof. em. Eric Gubel
Former Senior Keeper,
Antiquity Department
Royal Museums of Art & History

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This catalogue deals with eighty cylinder seals (**1–80**, see CHARTS 1–2 on page 224) kept in the Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels. The edition of these objects, which date roughly to the first half of the first millennium B.C., was accomplished in a five-year project entitled *Greater Mesopotamia: Reconstruction of its Environment and History* (GMREH), in the framework of the Interuniversity Attraction Poles – Phase VII. Eric Gubel invited me to participate in the research, started in 2012, as an international partner and kindly gave me permission to publish the materials studied in this book.

In the course of preparing this catalogue, Isabella Rosati (restauratrice au Ier département Antiquité) and Anne Devillers helped me get access to the artefacts and their documentation. Besides them, I am grateful to Vanessa Boschloos, who supported me in my administrative duties, as well as to Hendrik Hameeuw, who permitted me to analyse the digitised images made of the modern impressions of the cylinder seals.

During the project, I was also able to survey other cylinder seals in different collections, close parallels to the objects introduced here. The current publication thus displays photos of some of the previously examined seals, as well as corrections I made when necessary related to previously published information on these seals. I am thankful to the following persons and museums for allowing me to study these items and present their photos in the catalogue:

- Peter M.M.G. Akkermans (Leiden University) (fig. 1);
- Lamia al-Gailani Werr (†) (fig. 4: A–B);
- Katherine Blanchard (The Fowler/Van Santvoord Keeper of the Near Eastern Collections, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology) (figs. 6–7 and 24);
- Paul Collins (Jaleh Hearn Curator of Ancient Near East, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford) (fig. 16);
- Agnete Wisti Lassen (Associate Curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection) (figs. 3 and 20);
- Lucas Petit (Curator of the Department Ancient Near East, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden – Dutch National Museum of Antiquities) (fig. 9);
- Marielle Pic (Directrice au Département des Antiquités Orientales, Musée du Louvre) (fig. 2).

Moreover, I am able to publish one photo sent by Gabriel Vandervort (fig. 17).

Among the seals with inscriptions, Benjamin Sass (Tel Aviv University) prepared studies of three alphabetic inscriptions (**59**, **61**, and **65**), and Jan Tavernier (UCLouvain) made available to me the transliteration and the translation of a Neo-Elamite seal legend (**63**).

I am indebted to Alexander Brey (Bryn Mawr College), Diána Kulisz (ELTE Budapest), Huba Lőrincz (ELTE Budapest), Martin McCarvill, Mónika Nyitrai (ELTE Budapest), Bruno Overlaet (Royal Museums of Art and History), Erika Roboz (Museum of Fine Arts Budapest), Benjamin Sass, Nastia Tarasova and Gábor Winkler Nemes (ELTE Budapest) for their helpful comments and stylistic suggestions. I thank Gábor Erdős (ELTE Budapest), who helped me in finalising most

of the images and drawings presented in this volume. I am grateful to Tamás Dezső (ELTE Budapest) for kindly enabling me to publish this book, submitted in February 2020, in the series Assyriologia.

Brussels, 6 February 2020.

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ANR-FWF project "Material Culture of Babylonia
during the 1st millennium BC"

MODERN HISTORY OF THE CYLINDER SEALS

(1–80)

The presented collection of cylinder seals (**1–80**, see CHARTS 2–3 on pages 224–225) took form in three main periods whose boundaries were roughly marked by Louis Speleers's catalogues published in 1917 [1923²] and 1943.[1] Among the eighty artefacts, the first pieces[2] belong to a group (O.414–O.503) acquired by Henri de Genouillac: "Au cours d'un voyage en Orient en 1911-1912, M. l'abbé de Genouillac, de Paris, put recueillir un grand nombre d'intailles destinées aux Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire ; ce stock s'accrut d'un achat effectué à Paris en 1913 avec la collaboration de M. Louis Delaporte, conservateur au Louvre et de M. de Genouillac." (SPELEERS 1920, 14). Some of them (O.414–O.468) were purchased in Baghdad and the others (O.469–O.503) in Syria. From these two groups, four[3] and seven[4] cylinder seals respectively have been included in this catalogue.

By the time of the publication of the second, supplementary catalogue of Speleers (1943), the collection had been enriched with a further twenty-four seals, also presented here. One[5] of these was sold to the museum by I. Élias Géjou, one of the main antiquaries of this period, in 1923, followed by twelve more[6] in 1936. The objects' alleged provenance is mentioned along with them in our catalogue, but the authenticity of the indicated origins cannot be proved. A. K. Ebeian bought two further cylinder seals[7] in Damascus, and Dr. Jousset de Bellesme acquired two others[8] in one of the bazaars in the "région de Ḥoms-Ḥamath" (SPELEERS 1923B, 193). For another cylinder seal[9] that entered the collection (presumably) in 1928 or 1929, the museum archive does not provide any extra information. Finally, the last acquisition by the museum under Speleers was Louis Cugnin's collection, in 1939. From this private collection – published by Leon Legrain in 1911, and constituting one of the first catalogues dedicated to glyptics – six cylinder seals[10] appear in the current work; concerning the provenance of these pieces, unfortunately, there is no additional information beyond the name of the previous owner. In sum, among the materials studied here, eleven cylinder seals[11] appear in Speleers's first catalogue (1917 [1923²]), and twenty-four[12] in the second one (1943).

---

[1] It is worth mentioning that besides his two catalogues, Speleers published the new cylinder seals which had been acquired by the museum in short notes and reports in the *Bulletin of the Royal Museums of Art and History* and papers dedicated to the unique specimens (SPELEERS 1923B, 1929, 1936, 1939).

[2] **13**, **18**, **36**, **40**, **42**, **43**, **46**, **62**, **67**, **75–76**.

[3] **13**, **42**, **46**, **62**.

[4] **18**, **36**, **40**, **43**, **67**, **75–76**.

[5] **19**.

[6] **2**, **12**, **15**, **28**, **34**, **38**, **57**, **61**, **63**, **65**, **68**, **70**.

[7] **39**, **59**.

[8] **50**, **56**.

[9] **44**.

[10] **16**, **31**, **49**, **52–53**, **66**.

[11] **13**, **18**, **36**, **40**, **42–43**, **46**, **62**, **67**, **75–76**.

[12] **2**, **12**, **15–16**, **19**, **28**, **31**, **34**, **38–39**, **44**, **49–50**, **52–53**, **56–57**, **59**, **61**, **63**, **65–66**, **68**, **70**.

Since 1943, the collection has been enriched with forty-five more cylinder seals[13] due to accessions and donations. The British School of Archaeology of Iraq gave to the collection two cylinder seals, discovered during two Mesopotamian excavations (Kalḫu[14] and Tell al-Rimah[15]). As for accessions through commercial activities, the museum purchased four cylinder seals from the antiquarian Edgar Beer (Brussels), in 1948,[16] 1950[17] and 1970.[18] Most of the objects examined here originate from the collection of R. Moussa (Tehran) and were acquired by the museum in 1959. Regarding this Iranian private collection, George Dossin declares in a letter written to the museum director that "la majorité des pièces doit provenir de Luristan, de l'Elam et de la Perse". Thirty-six cylinder seals[19] from Moussa's collection are presented in this book, which lists the alleged provenance given by the previous owner, although the authenticity of the indicated origins cannot be proved. Finally, three artefacts[20] were bought from a private collection in Düsseldorf in 1991. For a summary of the modern history of the eighty cylinder seals analysed here, see CHART 3 on page 225, which shows them according to their date of acquisition.

---

[13] **1**, **3–11**, **14**, **17**, **20–27**, **29–30**, **32–33**, **35**, **37**, **41**, **45**, **47–48**, **51**, **54–55**, **58**, **60**, **64**, **69**, **71–74**, **77–80**.

[14] **6**.

[15] **64**.

[16] **77**.

[17] **25**, **55**.

[18] **60**.

[19] **1**, **3–5**, **7–9**, **11**, **14**, **17**, **20–24**, **26–27**, **29–30**, **32–33**, **35**, **37**, **41**, **45**, **47–48**, **51**, **58**, **69**, **71–74**, **78–79**.

[20] **10**, **54**, **80**.

ABOUT THE CATALOGUE

This catalogue publishes eighty of the cylinder seals kept in the Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels (section Ancient Near East and Iran).[21] As preliminary research on the entire glyptic collection, a classification with short descriptions and photographic reproductions was done in the framework of Glypcol, directed by Bruno Overlaet.[22] The museum intends to publish the Near Eastern glyptics in four volumes, classified according to main period and object type (cylinder seals, stamp seals, and ancient seal impressions). This volume presents the materials dated to the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods (circa 1000–500 B.C.).[23]

While Speleers published the objects that entered the museum before 1943 (the date of his last publication dealing with seals in the museum), a revision seemed needed regarding these thirty-five pre-1943 seals,[24] because of the poor quality of the photos; new descriptions and iconographic analyses using modern methods were also required. Moreover, the new acquisitions over the last three-quarters of a century also justify creating a new catalogue. Besides the artefacts published by Speleers, this book provides two cylinder seals originating from Kalḫu[25] and Tell al-Rimah,[26] published by Barbara Parker in 1962 and 1975, and two other cylinder seals[27] from the Moussa Collection, published by Dominique Collon in 1987 (see 2005^2). However, most of the pieces acquired since 1943 are previously unpublished; in all, the catalogue yields forty-one cylinder seals[28] published for the very first time. We would like to emphasise that this is merely a catalogue and not an extensive work about glyptics in (roughly) the first half of the first millennium B.C. This can be explained by the nature of the presented material: it is evident that the primary aim of actual glyptic research is a contextual examination of cylinder seals originating from documented archaeological excavations and a common study of the ancient sealings and seal impressions known from cuneiform tablets, inscribed or uninscribed bullae, and tags. A comprehensive monograph on the glyptics dated to the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods is still required, since there is no such publication dedicated to this topic yet.[29] It is an important fact that among the items studied here there are only two cylinder seals with provenance,[30] while in the case of a few additional objects the alleged provenance given by the previous owners or antiquarians cannot be confirmed (see these collected details in Chart 3 on page 225). As a result, the origin of most of the cylinder seals is unknown to us. In addition, among the ancient seal impressions kept in the Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels, the so-called Ma'allānāte corpus, dated to the 7th century B.C., is also notable; however, this material has been published by Denyse Homès-Fredericq in volume 2 of the series *Greater Mesopotamia Studies*.[31] One Urartian sealing is also introduced in the Appendix of the current volume.

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[21] For a recent summary of the glyptic collection, see Boschloos – Devillers – Gubel – Hameeuw – Jean – Van Goethem – Van Overmeire – Overlaet 2012, 23–43.

[22] The digitised images made of the cylinder seals and their impressions are available on Carmentis, the online catalogue of the Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels: http://www.carmentis.be/eMP/eMuseumPlus (accessed 20–09–2018).

[23] There are three cylinder seals (**26**–**27**, **56**) dated to the late second and/or early first millennium(s) B.C. The catalogue does not present the following cylinder seals:
– IR.242 – O.1471 (Speleers 1936, 135 fig. 33; Speleers 1943, 176 no. 1471): its current location is unknown; it is dated to the late second millennium B.C. and not the early first millennium B.C.;
– O.454 (Speleers 1917, 187–188 no. 454) is Middle Assyrian, and not Neo-Assyrian as suggested by Gubel 2007b, 102 no. Sceau-cylindre 113;
– O.2778 (from the Moussa Collection) is dated to the Achaemenid period;
– O.2788 (from the Moussa Collection): its present whereabouts are unknown, and it is dated to the Achaemenid period.

[24] See these objects in 1.2. Modern history of the cylinder seals (esp. footnotes 11 and 12) above.

[25] **6**.

[26] **64**.

[27] **7**, **26**.

[28] **1**, **3–5**, **8-11**, **14**, **17**, **20–25**, **27**, **29–30**, **32–33**, **35**, **37**, **41**, **45**, **47–48**, **51**, **54–55**, **58**, **60**, **69**, **71–74**, **77–80**.

I thus set myself the objective of editing the cylinder seals as distinct entities, since there is no direct connection among them in terms of their origin. This catalogue tries to present the items primarily from the iconographic point of view and arrange them according to theme, the traditional methods in glyptic research:

– 1: **1–12** Hunting scenes;
– 2: **13–18** Pursuing scenes;
– 3: **19–29** Antithetical scenes;[32]
– 4: **30–41** Contest scenes;
– 5: **42–48** Ritual scenes;
– 6: **49–56** Banquet scenes;
– 7: **57–63** Offering scenes;
– 8: **64–74** Cultic scenes;
– 9: **75–80** Modern (*i.e.*, fake) cylinder seals.

The cylinder seals are classified into nine groups (see Catalogue 2.1–9), based essentially on the depicted scenes, except for the last group, which deals with the modern seals, that is, the forgeries. The catalogue shows the objects one by one, in detail. There is no common introduction of the delineated themes at the beginning of the respective chapters,[33] however, as a comprehensive study related to these scenes would be needed to tackle them properly – a task beyond the scope of this work.

It follows from all the foregoing that I intend to display the artefacts focusing mainly on the iconography after a short presentation of their physical characteristics. Besides the material,[34] shape,[35] dimensions, condition, and modern history of each artefact, the individual entries collect all of the previous literature about each individual cylinder seal; then there is a description and explanation[36] concentrating on the major iconographic features of the seal images and the tools and tool usages involved in creating them, when possible.[37] This in turn is followed by a classification and interpretation of the given seal image with the collection of the relevant seals constituting its closest parallels.

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[29] Collon's remarkable catalogue (2001), providing the most comprehensive work on this topic, focuses primarily on the materials kept in the British Museum. For the Neo-Babylonian glyptics, see Wittmann 1992. Furthermore, there are seal corpora from the following sites: Hasanlu (Marcus 1996), different Luristan sites discovered by the Holmes Expeditions (van Loon 1989a), and most recently Assur (Klengel-Brandt 2014) and Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad (Fügert 2015). The latter catalogue yields mostly seal impressions.

[30] **6**, **64**.

[31] Homès-Fredericq – Garelli (†) 2018, 115–156 (esp.) and pls. XXXVII–XLIX.

[32] These antithetical scenes depict only the animals and hybrid creatures. Other antithetical scenes can be found in groups 4 and 5.

[33] For the introduction of these themes in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, see (e.g.) Teissier 1984 (Marcopoli Collection), Keel-Leu – Teissier 2004 (Bibel+Orient Museum, Sammlung der Universität Fribourg), Collon 2001 (British Museum), as well as Klengel-Brandt 2014 (material from Assur) and Fügert 2015 (material from Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad).

[34] We must note that the material of the cylinder seals has not been investigated by mineralogical analysis; their identification is based on museum documentation, which can result in doubtful and uncertain designations. As far as we know, previous mineralogical research was done only in the case of **60**, on 01–03–1971.

[35] The shape and perforation are only mentioned when they have unusual characteristics.

[36] The description of the seal images is made based on the modern seal impressions. The seal images are presented from left to right, but the description begins with the focal point of the seal image when needed.

In describing the seal images, I confined myself to the traditional terminology, established mainly by Anton Moortgat (1940) and Edith Porada (1948) in their catalogues. However, I also employ terminology introduced by Dominique Collon and Margaret Sax in their study, although I have to emphasise that the terms applied in this work refer to the style of the seal images primarily as based on my analysis. The classical designations of the styles (*i.e.*, linear, cut, filed, drilled, and modelled),[38] as well as the sintered quartz cylinder seals, are thus used in addition to the thematical arrangement of the seal images.

I am convinced of the importance of presenting these cylinder seals since, in the studied period, these artefacts were utilised not only during sealing practices but in different spheres of application – in funeral procedures and as amulets, pieces of jewellery, and votive offerings. The engraved images are significant due to the selected tools, the applied technology and mostly the materials: their shape, colour, and texture. From this point of view, they allow us to learn more about the makers, commissioners, or users of the objects and their spheres of use.

In fact, the enquiry into the continued or later use of the cylinder seals is also a key topic, because these objects and their images were reshaped and recut in both ancient and modern times. These supplements and modifications as well as the insertion of new motifs and even figures can also be recognised. This catalogue provides five cylinder seals[39] modified in ancient or modern times through recutting or other methods, including seals modified with smaller and/or questionable details. Moreover, there are four unfinished pieces.[40]

The last subchapter (Chapter 2.9) deals with the problem of genuineness and the making of forgeries.[41] We have to emphasise the presence of the fake, modern seals, a phenomenon that can be corroborated from the dawn of glyptic studies[42] but has become more substantial and consequential as we have found that seals previously thought genuine were fakes, and as fake specimens of various quality have continued to turn up in art markets. Instead of ignoring the counterfeits, paying proper attention to them is essential, and one of our main tasks should be to identify them we should try to shed light on the preferred themes and motifs as well as the process of their fabrication. Their occurrence and features are well illustrated by the modern objects purchased by the Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels in different periods of the 20th century. These are mentioned according to their first occurrence with the available data about their origin (first document or publication mentioning the object) and/or date of acquisition in museum records.[43]

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[37] No microscopic examination of the surveyed materials in order to identify tool usage or differentiate tool traces from details caused by accident was conducted except for **65** (Niederreiter – Sass 2018a). For reports of research done on the materials kept in the British Museum, see (e.g.) Sax – Meeks 1994; Sax – Meeks 1995; Sax – McNabb – Meeks 1998; Sax – Meeks – Collon 2000a; Sax – Meeks – Collon 2000b; Collon 2001, 2–3 and 20–21: I.6.1.4 (subchapter written by M. Sax).

[38] Contrary to previous descriptions of the cut style, technical analysis proved that some of the seal images were filed rather than cut with a cutting wheel. For the features and particulars of filing recognised on some seal images, see Sax – Meeks 1994, Sax – McNabb – Meeks 1998, Collon 2001, 3–4: I.4.2.1, 5: I.4.2.6–7 and 20–21: I.6.1.4.

[39] **6**, **31**, **50**, **53**, **56**.

[40] **8**, **48**, **59**, **73**.

[41] **75–80**. Besides these, there are two cylinder seals (**8**, **48**) the authenticity of which is questionable in my opinion.

[42] Menant 1888; and (e.g.) Porada 1968 with further bibliographical references in footnote 1 on page 135.

[43] With regard to two cylinder seals (**75**–**76**) originating from the same modern workshop, I am in the process of publishing other items belonging to the same group of forgeries, kept in different collections, in a paper.

The volume also contains lists enumerating those seals which have been cited in discussion of the examined cylinder seals. The three lists (see Chapter 3.1.1–3) focus on the provenance and current whereabouts of the pieces, when this is known, as well as their initial publication. As further keys to this catalogue, Chart 1 on page 224 numbers all the artefacts (**1–80**) presented in this work. Chart 2 on page 224 introduces the objects according to their museum and registration numbers and Chart 3 on page 225 presents the date of acquisition and/or first attestation of the items, with their place of origin or alleged provenance. I also indicate the previous collector or the antiquarian when known.

We collect the main keywords related to the eighty seal images (see Chapter 4) but not to those extra seals which are referred to in connection with them. The keywords are grouped under terms providing the major elements of the description, and facilitate study of the selected topics for additional iconographic research and/or comparison to other seal images.

At the end of the Bibliography (see Chapter 5), there is a list of auction catalogues mentioning those cylinder seals whose current locations are unknown.

Regarding the photos and illustrations, besides the pictures made of modern seal impressions, the cylinder seals are represented by four photographs each: two depicting the most relevant parts or aspects of the engraved seal image and another two showing the upper and lower edges of the cylinder seal. The author's hand-made drawings of nine modern seal impressions are presented here.[44] At the end of the book, the summary plates (Plates 1–13) consist of photos of the seal impressions. Further, two colour plates display all the artefacts except for three missing ones[45] whose present locations are unknown (Plates 14–15). Finally, photographs of details of a selected group of cylinder seals and their modern impressions are on colour Plates 16–21. In the current volume, all the photos and drawings related to the cylinder seals and the modern impressions of them (**1–80**) were developed by the author, who is indebted to Gábor Erdős (Assyriologist, Egyptologist, and CGI artist) for his help in finalising most of the images and drawings.

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[44] **2**, **34**, **39**–**40**, **61**, **63**, **65**, **72**–**73**.

[45] **19**, **38**, **62**.

CATALOGUE

Hunting scenes (**1–12**) 23
Pursuing scenes (**13–18**) 49
Antithetical scenes (**19–29**) 61
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I.

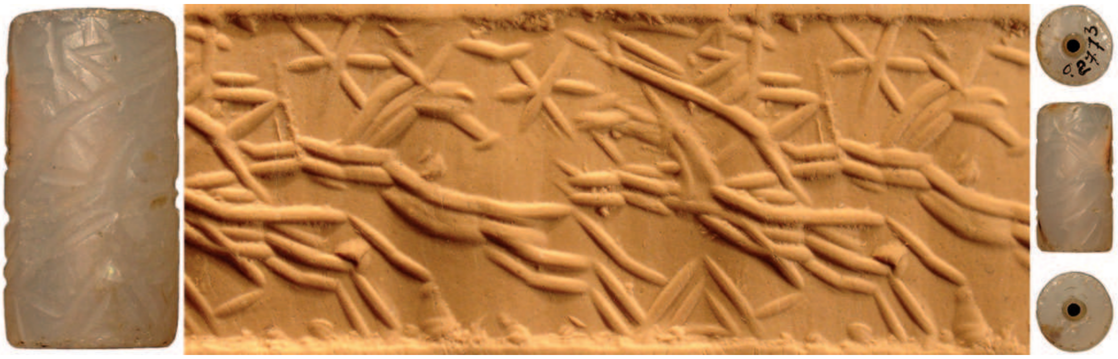
Hunting Scenes (**1–12**)

1

Hunting scene

Archer on horseback aiming at a bull

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2773
MATERIAL	“Halbopal”
DIMENSIONS	height: 20.0 mm, diameter: 11.3 mm, weight: 5.01 g
CONDITION	The upper and lower edges are slightly chipped, and there are chips above the bull’s back and forelegs, between the horse’s tail and hind leg, and below the end of its tail.
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection, 11–10–1958.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.



This hunting scene represents a horseman with bow facing leftward on the right and a leaping bull turning his head back towards the hunter on the left. The bearded archer riding on the horse appears to hold his bow in his left hand, whose extension constitutes his body. His leg is also extended, and likewise the other parts of his body. The prancing horse is depicted with almost horizontally placed forelegs, while its hind legs are placed on the lower edge of the field. The hooves are marked with short strokes on the forelegs. Three continuous lines form a curvature indicating the hanging reins. The leaping bull, has a single ear and a horn whose upper part turns forward; its body, tail and legs are shaped and positioned similarly to those of the horse in regard to dimensions and direction. Below the lowered foreleg of the bull, there is a short line incorrectly placed at the carving of the foreleg. Another incorrectly placed short line is below the right-hand lower ray of a six-pointed star in front of the head of the bull. The other six-pointed star is situated behind the bull’s head in the sky. Below the horse’s belly there is a geometrical form which depicts an equilateral triangle whose lower side runs along the edge of the field, *while its two upper edges are bordered equally by one parallel line on the outside, each of whose endpoints comes together. This well-shaped, regular geometric motif presumably depicts a mountain.*

This cut-style design is characterised by boldly outlined figures upon which it is interesting to note the absence of horizontal and vertical lines. Creating the eventful effect of the scene, the hunter is shaped with short and long oblique lines, while the leaping bull and the prancing horse are rendered mainly with curving lines. The curved neck and body as well as the limbs, whose articulation is marked with parallel lines, equally have an undulating effect, enhancing the impression of the animals' movement. Besides the rendering of the figures, we can distinguish the shaping of filling motifs such as the stars and the mountain, formed with horizontal and forty-five degree lines. These constitute the static and geometric elements of the scene.

The main interest of this scene is the depiction of the leaping bull's forelegs, positioned over the rump of the horse while its head turns backwards toward the pursuing horse and hunter. The extension of the lowered foreleg of the bull constitutes the thigh of the hunter. The playful use of lines creates the continuous, frieze-like appearance of the scene. The same characteristic movement and undulating lines are attested on two other cylinder seals, one from the excavation of Al-Qādisīyah (Salvage Dam on the Euphrates, north of Haditha, Iraq)[46] and one from the Bibel+Orient Museum, Sammlung der Universität Fribourg.[47] They were likely made in the same workshop as this one.

Like some other Babylonian seal images, these ones have no borderlines, but the figures touch the upper and lower ends of the available field (see the hunter's head or the animals' legs). The elongated body of the figures, on which the long undulating lines designate the articulation and limbs, attests the typical characteristics of Babylonian pursuing scenes.[48] The continuous, frieze-like effect which creates the movement dominates these scenes. In this respect, the arrangement of the figures depicted on the cylinder seal from Al-Qādisīyah expresses the essence of this composition, since the head of the horse and that of the bull almost touch each other while the forelegs of each are above the hind legs of the other.

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[46] From Al-Qādisīyah: Al-Huri 1979/81, 24 no. 26.

[47] VR 1992.7 (Bibel+Orient Museum, Sammlung der Universität Fribourg, formerly kept in the Lúcia Collection): Cieslak 1992 (6–11/05/1992) 19 no. 122 and pl. 9; Keel-Leu – Teissier 2004, 208 no. 227 ("beiger dunkelgrau geädert Halbopal", height: 18 mm, diameter: 10.1 mm) and 447 (pl.). Contrary to the identified "Kulturraum: Assyrien", we agree with the proposed date: "(8.)/7. Jh." (Keel-Leu – Teissier 2004, 208 no. 227).

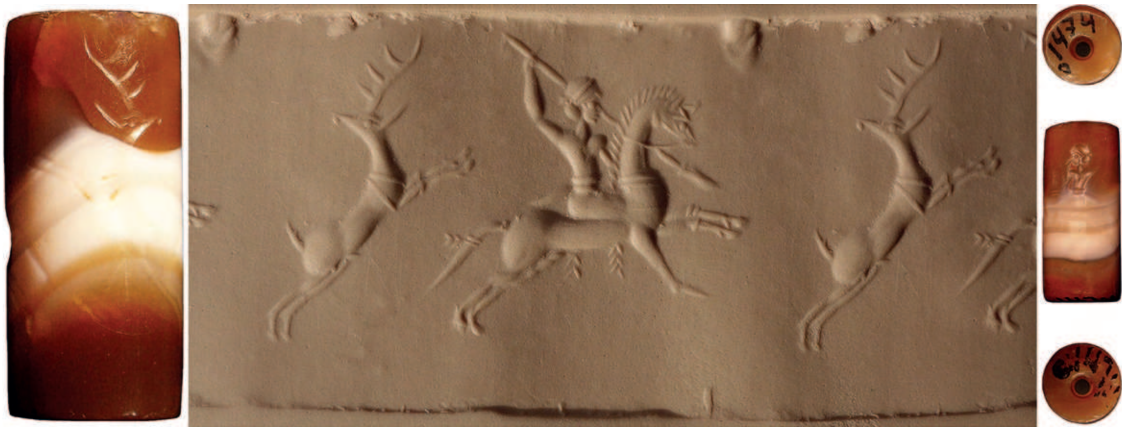
[48] Among them, two cylinder seals depicting two mythical creatures attest very close stylistic and structural parallels of the examined scene:
– U. 16656 (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, from Ur): Legrain 1951, 42 no. 595 ("carnelian", height: 18 mm, diameter: 8 mm) and pl. 35;
– VR 1981.122 (Bibel+Orient Museum, Sammlung der Universität Fribourg): Keel-Leu – Teissier 2004, 145–146 no. 149 ("Halbopal", height: 26.6 mm, diameter: 11 mm) and 437 (pl.).

2

Hunting scene

Spearman on horseback pursuing a leaping deer

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.1474
MATERIAL	“white-veined agate (or jasper)”[49]
DIMENSIONS	height: 24.2 mm, diameter: 10.5 mm, weight: 4.94 g
CONDITION	There are small chips at the upper edge and a small abrasion at the end of the deer’s mouth.
PROVENANCE	Acquired from the antiquarian I. Élias Géjou in Paris (said to be from “Birs Babel”), 23–04–1936.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Speleers 1936, 136 fig. 35 (in this publication, the negative made of a modern seal impression was reproduced in reverse); Speleers 1943, 181–182 no. 1474 (photo also reversed in the publication); Amiet 1973a, 22, 31 no. 53 and pl. VIII; Bollweg 1988, 59 no. 3 and pl. 31: 2; van Loon 1988, 224 (2.) and note 18; van Loon 1989, 440 no. 153 note 110; Garrison 1991, 6; Merrillees 2005, 47 no. 3.



This hunting scene represents a rider facing right and a leaping deer whose head is turned backward over its shoulder. The hunter holds a spear in his raised right hand, while his left is covered by the horse’s neck, seemingly taking the reins. His hair is bound by a band, marked by two diverging lines, which broadens at the forehead and terminates in an extremely small stroke which fastens the raised lock of hair. The rider wears a belt marked by two engraved lines, and there is a sword in it. The T-shaped head of his spear is similar to the socketed spearheads,[50] *while the rear end of the shaft, that is, the butt, may be marked by a stroke indicating a short hanging cord or a counterweight which allows the hunter to hold the spear near the end rather than in the middle. The small part of the shaft above the grasping hand is thus not merely*

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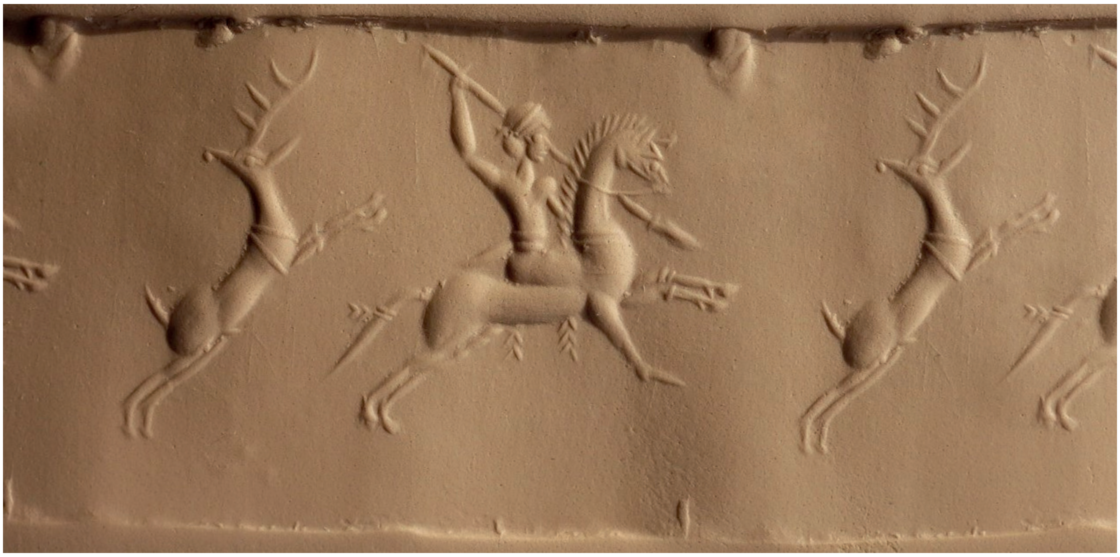
[49] For the dyeing process for making sard-like cylinder seals as well as the materials of agate and sardonyx, see Sax 2005, 144–145: VI.1.4, 146: VI.2.1.4, and 147: VI.2.1.6.

[50] Among different spears depicted on Elamite and Achaemenid seal images (Merrillees 2005, 110–111: V.2.6.3 [fig. 11c]), the so-called “barbed spear with a slightly curved ‘T’-shaped butt” (Merrillees 2005, 47 no. 3) shows similarity to the present spear.

an artistic choice of the seal-cutter but probably reflects the real grasping-place of the spear. Like the hunter's weapons, the trappings are also shaped with great care. These include the reins, the bridle with frontlet, and the two hanging tasselled cords below the belly and another which ties the tail. These tasselled cords, shaped by strokes, reflect a double or triple chevron-like arrangement. The galloping horse is depicted with a long, gently curved neck; the mane is shaped by a row of strokes on its upper edge, while the outstretched forelegs are raised almost horizontally and the hind legs are arranged parallel with the line of the tail. The deer, which is characterised by a slender, hollow-backed body, has a long antler, a pointed ear, and a stubby tail. Regarding both horse and deer, the articulation of the body and the legs is perfectly treated. Moreover, the seal-cutter(s) managed to express the movement and the musculature with small details (see the differently shaped hooves on the forelegs and the hind legs, the genitalia, and the joints).



Enlarged detail on seal image **2**.

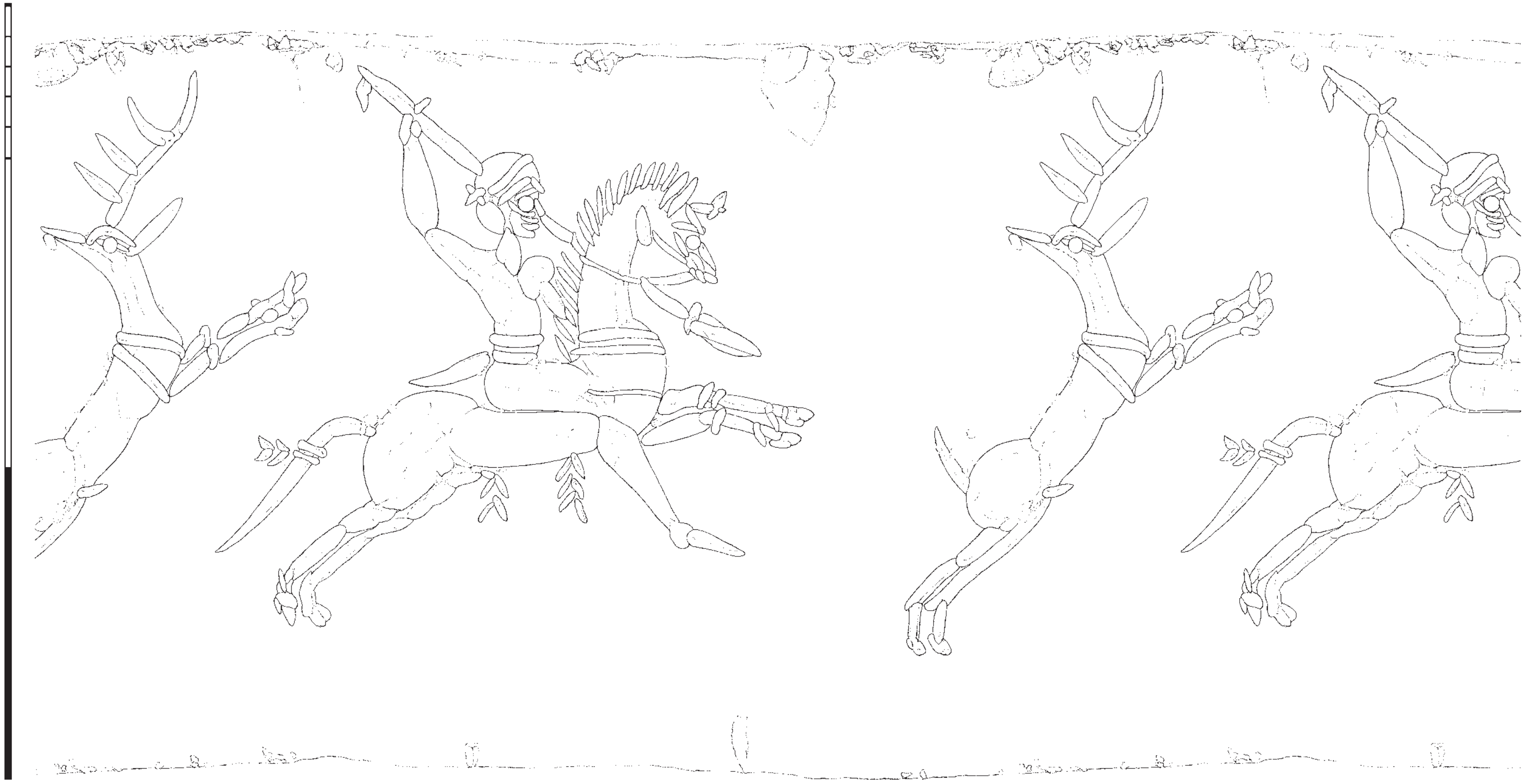


Table 1. Hunting scenes with rider on seals from Neo-Elamite art or under its influence.

	PREY	MUSEUM NR.	ORIGIN	MATERIAL	DIMENSIONS (mm)	INSCRIPTION
1	deer	**2**				
2[52]	*ibid.*	Morgan 812	unprovenanced	“chalcedony”	h: 33, d: 16	inscribed
3[53]	*ibid.*	BM WA 103013	*ibid.*	“limestone”	h: 22, d: 9	uninscribed
4[54]	*ibid.*	VR 1981.208	*ibid.*	“Marmor”	h: 24.5, d: 9.6	*ibid.*
5[55]	gazelle	unknown	*ibid.*			*ibid.*
6[56]	*ibid.*	AO 8819	*ibid.*	“stéatite”	h: 28, d: 11	*ibid.*
7[57]	*ibid.*	CS 421	Chigha Sabz	“porphyry”	h: 22, d: 9	*ibid.*
8[58]	gazelle or wild goat	Sb 6282	Susa	“calcaire”	h: 21, d: 10	*ibid.*
9[59]	*ibid.*	Kist Coll.	unprovenanced	“grey stone”	h: 18, d: 6	*ibid.*
10[60]	*ibid.*	BM WA 138159	see footnote 60	“faience”	h: 30, d: 17.5	*ibid.*
11[61]	*ibid.*	MFA 65.1429	unprovenanced	“stone”	h: 30, d: 13.5	*ibid.*
12[62]	lion	Foroughi Coll.	*ibid.*	“Achat”	h: 28	inscribed
13[63]	*ibid.*	BM WA 89009	*ibid.*	“chalcedony”	h: 35, d: 14	*ibid.*
14[64]	leopard or lioness	Gorelick Coll.	*ibid.*	“black flint”	h: 15.7, d: 7.7	uninscribed
15[65]	bear	Del. 404	*ibid.*	“cornaline”	h: 28, d: 10	*ibid.*
16[66]	wolves	AO 22419	*ibid.*	“schiste”	h: 25, d: 11	*ibid.*
17[67]	boar	private coll.	*ibid.*			*ibid.*
18[68]	ostrich	WAG 42.443	*ibid.*	“rose quartz”	h: 25.6, d: 11.5[69]	inscribed
19[70]	winged wild goat	Sor 862	Surkh Dum-i-Luri	“chalcedony”	h: 25, d: 12	uninscribed
20[71]	human-headed winged bull	BM WA 104844	unprovenanced	“dolomitic limestone”	h: 20, d: 11	*ibid.*
21[72]	onager	AS 9142	Susa	sealing		inscribed
21[73]	deer or gazelle	MDP 11, 306	*ibid.*	sealing		*ibid.*
22[74]	onager and bovida	PFS 51	Persepolis	sealing		*ibid.*

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[51] Amiet 1973a, 30–31 nos. 51–59, 61, 69–70 and pls. VIII–IX.

[52] Morgan 812 (Morgan Library & Museum): Porada 1948, 102, 180 no. 812 and pl. CXXII; Amiet 1973a, 30 no. 51 and pl. VIII.

[53] BM WA 103013 – 1905–5–10, 8 (British Museum, acquired from J.J. Naaman of London): Amiet 1973a, 31 no. 54 and pl. VIII; Merrillees 2005, 47 no. 3 (“limestone [siliceous]: streaked, red and pale brown”) and pl. XXVI.

[54] VR 1981.208 (Bibel+Orient Museum, Sammlung der Universität Fribourg): Keel-Leu – Teissier 2004, 224 no. 249 and 450 (pl.).

[55] Columbia University: Amiet 1973a, 31 no. 55 and pl. VIII.

[56] AO 8819 (Musée du Louvre): Amiet 1973a, 31 no. 69 and pl. IX.

[57] CS 421 (from Chigha Sabz) – MIB (Muze-ye Iran Bastan): van Loon 1989a, 440 no. 153, 466 no. 243:153 and pl. 243: 153.

[58] Sb 6282 (K 424) (Musée du Louvre): Mecquenem 1928, 170 no. 4 and 175 (fig.); Amiet 1972, 282 no. 2188 and pl. 188; Amiet 1973a, 31 no. 58 and pl. VIII.

[59] Allard Pierson Museum (formerly kept in the Kist Collection): Kist 2003, 199 no. 374.

[60] BM WA 138159 – N 1105 (British Museum, “from A.H. Layard’s expeditions to Mesopotamia between 1845 and 1851”): Merrillees 2005, 47 no. 2 and pl. II.

[61] MFA 65.1429 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). For this unpublished seal (studied directly in May 2016 by the author), mentioned in Merrillees 2005, 47 no. 2, see http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/cylinder-seal-163814 (accessed 20–09–2018).

[62] Foroughi Collection: Porada 1975, 386–387 no. 297 i; Steve 1986, 10–13 fig. 1 and pl. I; Bollweg 1988, 59 no. 7 and pl. 32: 3.

[63] BM WA 89009 – 1841–7–26, 124 (British Museum, acquired from C. Scott-Stewart): Lajard 1847, 7 and pl. XXV: 7; Amiet 1973a, 31 no. 52 and pl. VIII; Merrillees 2005, 48 no. 4 (“chalcedony: grey-blue”) and pl. 2 (see the hunter’s particular headdress).

[64] Gorelick Collection: Noveck 1975, 63 no. 47. A leopard is depicted in similar position on a cylinder seal dated to the Proto-Elamite period, formerly kept in the Borowski Collection (now in the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem). According to the publication of this seal, a “rampant lion” is the depicted animal (Williams-Forte 1981b, 192 no. 156).

[65] Del. 404 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France; formerly kept in the Pauvert de la Chapelle Collection): Delaporte 1910, 225 no. 404 and pl. XXVIII; Amiet 1973a, 31 no. 70 and pl. IX (see the hunter’s headdress).

The hunting scene with rider is a well-known theme among the Neo-Elamite seals. There are twelve examples (Table 1: 1–3, 5–6, 8, 13, 15–18, 20) of the scene collected by P. Amiet (1973)[51] whose principal figure is the riding hunter who pursues his prey with spear or bow. Besides these seals, there are eight further examples (Table 1: 4, 7, 9–12, 14, 19), with or without provenance, which belong to the same group. The diversity of the hunters' prey suggests the wish of patrons for the depiction of different species and the skill of artists in representing the richness of the animal world. These high-quality images reflect a high point of seal-cutting knowledge in the glyptic arts. For the identification of the depicted scenes, see Table 1: 1–20 (cylinder seals) and Table 1: 21–22 (sealings).

A hound (Table 1: 8) or an archer kneeling on one knee (Table 1: 17) may appear beside the riding hunter. Moreover, there are seal impressions from Persepolis which depict the same rider, who pursues his adversary in combat scenes.[75]

Among the collected examples, there are also lower-quality and/or provincial items which belong to the Elamite cultural sphere or attest its influence, while there is a particular group, including the present item, which attest the main characteristics of the Neo-Elamite modelled style. These are very finely modelled figures rendered with small details and no borderlines, filling motifs, or elements designating the landscape. The theme (deer hunting in which a rider with spear pursues a deer) can also be followed on the Achaemenid cylinder seals.[76] The alleged provenance of the present item is "Birs Babel", which does not signify anything regarding date or manufacture. This seal represents the uppermost level of skill in the use of tools and rendered details, and its iconography is paralleled, among the aforementioned cylinder seals, in five seals (Table 1: 2–3, 12, 14, 18). As for the date of the studied hunting scenes, we can attest their production from the early 7th century B.C. to the early Achaemenid period.[77] For further notes about Neo-Elamite hunting scenes in glyptics, see **7**.

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[66] AO 22419 (Musée du Louvre): Amiet 1973a, 31 no. 59 and pl. VIII.

[67] "Collection particulière": Amiet 1973a, 31 no. 57 and pl. VIII (the rider appears with an archer kneeling on one knee, and a hound).

[68] WAG 42.443 (The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore): Gordon 1939, 27–28 no. 86 and pl. X; Amiet 1973a, 31 no. 56 and pl. VIII.

[69] The cylinder seal – studied directly in May 2016 by the author – has slightly convex ends.

[70] Sor 862 (from Surkh Dum-i-Luri) – MIB-729 (Muze-ye Iran Bastan): van Loon 1989a, 440 no. 152, 466 no. 243:152 and pl. 243; Maras 2005, 138 fig. 5.

[71] BM WA 104844 – 1912-7-6, 108 (British Museum): Merrillees 2005, 48 no. 5 and pl. III. For another cylinder seal in which the rider with a spear pursues a "centaur":
– Moore 68 (Moore Collection): Eisen 1940, 51 no. 75 and pl. IX; Amiet 1973a, 31 no. 61 and pl. VIII.

[72] AS 9142 (Musée du Louvre): Delaporte 1920, 65 no. S. 555 and pl. 48: 7; Amiet 1973a, 11–12, 28 no. 16 and pl. IV.

[73] Amiet 1973a, 28 no. 22 and pl. V (for the cuneiform tablet, see Scheil 1911 = MDP 11, 98–99 no. 306).

[74] PFS 51 on PF 736 (on loan in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago): Garrison 1991, 4–5 figs. 3–4.

[75] E.g. PFS 93* sealing (from Persepolis): Amiet 1973a, 15, 29 no. 28 and pl. VI; Garrison 2011, 376–378 figs. 1–12.

[76] For two Achaemenid cylinder seals:
– AO 22354 (Musée du Louvre; formerly kept in the De Clercq Collection): De Clercq – Menant 1888, 197 no. 362, 200 (fig.) and pl. III;
– formerly kept in the De Clercq Collection: De Clercq – Menant 1888, 249 no. 362 *bis* and pl. IX.

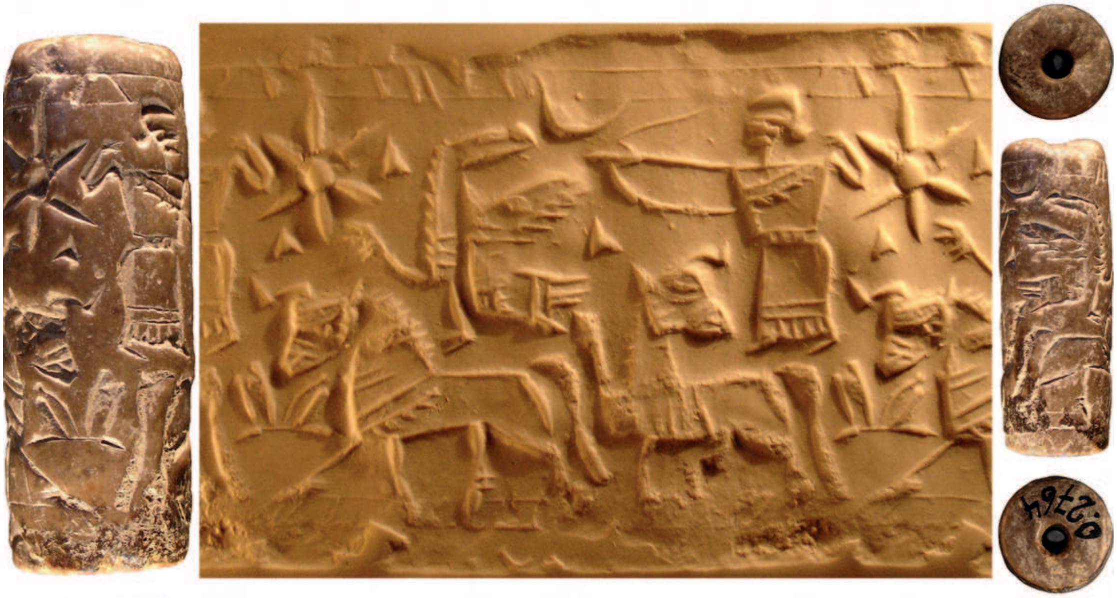
[77] Amiet 1973a, 4–5 and 21–22; Miroschedji 1982, 55–56 and 58–59; Steve 1986, 13; Bollweg 1988, 54–58; van Loon 1988, 223–225; van Loon 1989a, 440 nos. 152 and 153; Garrison 1991, 5–7; Vallat 1996, 392; Potts 1999, 295–297; Maras 2005, 142–143; Merrillees 2005, 47 no. 3 (esp.).

3

HUNTING SCENE

Archer, bird, and two bulls

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2764
MATERIAL	"tan stone"
DIMENSIONS	height: 41.4 mm, diameter: 15.4 mm (slightly barrel-shaped), weight: 17.68 g
CONDITION	The surface is damaged at the height of the bands around both edges. Furthermore, there is a small fracture above the upper band situated over the bird's head, and the lower part is covered in some places by thin, dark layers. The hole is unevenly drilled from the two ends, and there is a small divergence at the meeting point, where the internal cavity narrows slightly.
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection (said to be from the region situated "près du Louristan"), 11–10–1958.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.



This hunting scene, between two bands which frame it at the top and bottom, represents four figures. There is a standing archer on the right and a bird in front of him in the upper field, and there are two bulls below them. The archer wears a long, belted robe with a diagonally placed band on his chest, and a fringed hem decorates the lower part of the robe. The belt and the two borders are rendered by a row of lengthwise strokes. The bird, whose head is turned toward the archer, is portrayed with one outstretched wing and a raised and a standing leg. A row of strokes indicating the feathers runs down its body from the neck to the legs. This is a bird of prey, based on the elongated head with the curved beak and the long legs with

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[78] Based on the arrangement and details, there are similar birds of prey depicted as part of different themes and in different styles:
– Del. 326 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, acquired in 1857, formerly kept in the Palin Collection): DELAPORTE 1910, 181–182 no. 326 ("agate rose", height: 26 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and pl. XXII;

claws.[78] *Beneath the hunter there is a bull which is turning its head backwards and raising one of its forelegs almost vertically, while below the bird of prey, another, walking bull is depicted. On the upper field, there is a crescent moon and a six-pointed star with a globe in the middle, respectively in front of and behind the hunter. There is a plant with no stem*[79] *between the bulls on the lower field. Two wedge-shaped motifs are positioned around the star, and a third one is below the archer's bow.*

One of the particularities of this linear-style seal is the bands constituting the borders of this scene, which are decorated with unequal diagonal hatchings arranged in different directions and at uneven distances form each other.[80] The hunter's head and the bulls' legs overlap the upper and lower bands respectively. Between the upper edge and border, situated over the star, there are two triangles. It is interesting to note that these geometric motifs are not attested at the same height on the undamaged surface, which proves that a continuous row of triangles did not decorate the seal originally. This scene is particular also in regard to the chosen figures and their arrangement. The well-known standing hunter placed on the upper field constitutes the focal point of the scene, while the two bulls on the lower field are represented fleeing. These quadrupeds are also known from hunting scenes but are not represented together on them, and they are also oriented outside the hunter's field of view, in contrast to the hunting scenes, while the bird is represented in front of him.

The design is characterised by the arrangement of the figures and filling motifs, with little empty space between them. They do not overlap each other, but cross over the bordering bands.[81] As a result of this conception, the available space is completely filled, and there are some re-directed or abbreviated details, such as the placing of the bird's legs above the bull or the bull's unnaturally upraised foreleg below the hunter. Based on characteristics of this hunting scene such as the contour lines without carved silhouettes or the surface patterning created by light engravings, this seal is dated to the early first millennium B.C. and presumably belongs to the Iranian cultural sphere. Besides the aforementioned seals,[82] a cylinder seal from Hasanlu[83] which depicts deer hunting provides close similarities to the present seal regarding the two framing bands, the body position and detailing of the standing archer and his prey, and the disposition of the wedge-shaped motifs around the figures.

– Morgan 764 (Morgan Library & Museum): Porada 1948, 93 no. 764 ("white chalcedony", height: 24 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and pl. CXVI.

[79] For a similar plant depicted on a hunting scene:
– Moore 62 (Moore Collection): Eisen 1940, 51 no. 74 ("felsite", height: 50 mm, diameter: 18 mm) and pl. IX; Matthews 1990, 146 no. 570 ("Levantine").

[80] For similar uneven surface decoration on bordering bands:
– BM WA 89576 – N 1067 (British Museum, "from Layard's expeditions to Mesopotamia between 1845 and 1851"): Collon 2001, 42 no. 18 ("limestone", height: 40 mm, diameter: 14.5 mm) and pl. II.

[81] Regarding the main particulars of this scene, a cylinder seal from Surkh Dum-i-Luri shows similarities to the present seal:
– Sor 1162 (Surkh Dum-i-Luri) – MIB-1469 (Muze-ye Iran Bastan): van Loon 1989a, 437–438 no. 142, 465 no. 242:142 ("sandstone", height: 31 mm, diameter: 18 mm) and pl. 242.
The contour lines and the surface patterning of the hunter's dress and the bull's figure are similar on a bull hunting scene:
– Chiha Collection: Doumet 1992, 77 no. 136 ("serpentine noir", height: 32.5 mm, diameter: 13.5 mm).
Among the figures on the present field, the standing archer, the bull in front of the stylised tree, the crescent moon, the edge-shaped motif and the six-pointed star with a globe in the middle are depicted in a similar style and with similar proportions on a very damaged, recut cylinder seal:
– Allard Pierson Museum (formerly kept in the Kist Collection): Kist 2003, 181 no. 338 ("tan stone", height: 42 mm, diameter: 12 mm).

[82] See the previous footnote.

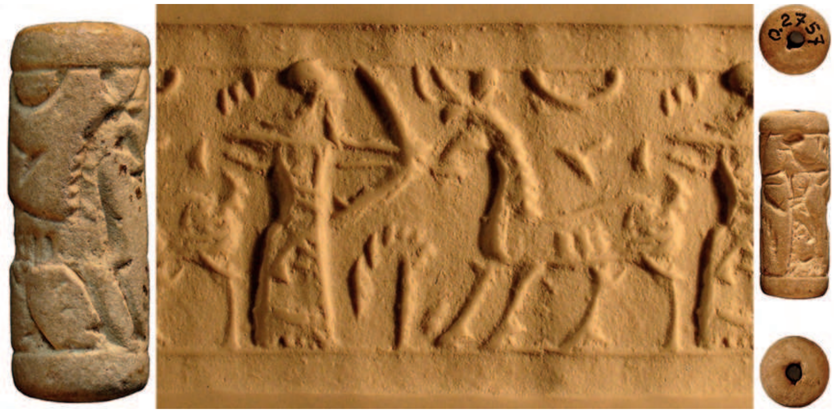
[83] HAS 60-108 (Hasanlu) – UM 61-5-20 (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology): Marcus 1996, 118–119 no. 63 ("black marble", height: 32.7 mm, diameter: 11.4 mm) fig. 85 and pl. 63: "provincial Assyrian style".

4

Hunting scene

Archer aiming at a wild goat

museum number	O.2757	Plate 16.
material	light ochre sintered quartz (faience or composition)[84] with small traces of dark brownish glaze	
dimensions	height: 25.2 mm, diameter: 9.6 mm, weight: 2.87 g	
condition	Only traces of the glazed surface have survived on the surface.	
provenance	Formerly in the Moussa Collection (said to be from "Louristan"), 11–10–1958.	
Bibliography	Unpublished.	



This hunting scene, depicted between two borderlines at the top and bottom, represents a standing archer with a wild goat facing him. The bearded hunter wears a rounded headdress and a long, belted robe whose diagonally running row of fringes is indicated by small lines below his belt. Above his right shoulder, the three lines mark the arrows. The wild goat has a single ear and a pair of horns that point upwards; the fur is indicated with a row of lines on the neck, three longer lines mark the haunches, and it has a stubby upraised tail. Its body is moving forward slightly, supported by the leaning forelegs. The goat's hooves and knees are both articulated. In the sky, there is a crescent moon and two wedge shapes above the wild goat's back, while a stylised plant is depicted between the hunter and the goat on the lower field.

Among the sintered quartz cylinder seals, the standing archer aiming at a quadruped – usually a bull, wild goat or mouflon (sometimes depicted with a wing) – is a well-known subject and appears in several examples with known provenance[85] from the Assyrian cities (Assur[86] and

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[84] For the material, see Moorey 1994, 166–186: 2; Sax 2001, 28–29 no. I.6.2.16.

[85] For cylinder seals with provenance, belonging to the same theme, in which other types of prey appear, see Collon 2001, 39–41: III.1.2.

[86] From Assur:
- – Ass 21327 – VA 7981 (Vorderasiatisches Museum): Moortgat 1940, 147 no. 698 ("blaue Fritte", height: 25 mm, diameter: 9 mm) and pl. 82;
- – Ass 14716 – VA Ass 1614 (Vorderasiatisches Museum): Moortgat 1940, 148 no. 699 ("gelbe Fritte", height: 26 mm, diameter: 9 mm) and pl. 83;
- – VA 4252 (Vorderasiatisches Museum): Moortgat 1940, 148 no. 700 ("hellblaue Fritte", height: 22 mm, diameter: 9 mm) and pl. 83;

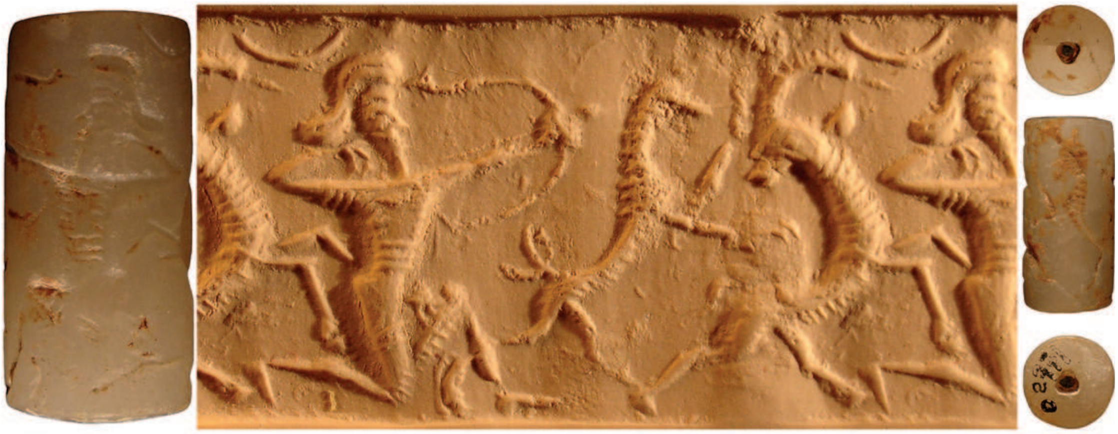
Kalḫu[87]) and the Iranian borderland, such as Iranian Kurdistan (the "Zagros graveyard" near Sanandaj).[88] The main element of the compositional arrangement of these mass-produced cylinder seals is the filling of the available field, which may result in the overlapping of borderlines, the enlarging of the quadruped prey compared to the hunter, and finally the disappearance of the distance between them. On the base of the hunter's headdress, the following types can be identified: slightly oval-shaped/tall and rounded, and conical or cylindrical (*i.e.*, *polos*). This latter headdress constitutes the main characteristic of royal representations. The hunter wears a long robe with varied surface patterning, whose fringed hem covers the hunter's feet completely in several cases.

5

Hunting scene

Archer aiming at a wild goat pursued by a hound

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2771
MATERIAL	"pierre blanche translucide"
DIMENSIONS	height: 25.9 mm, diameter: 12.1 mm, weight: 7.22 g
CONDITION	Brownish layer covers part of the figures (the hunter's bow, the hound's upper body, and the wild goat's muzzle and haunch). Furthermore, there are scattered small faults on the entire field.
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection (said to be from the region situated "près du Louristan"), 11–10–1958.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.



– Ass 6139 – VA Ass 1604 (Vorderasiatisches Museum): Moortgat 1940, 148 no. 705 ("weiße Fritte", height: 33 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and pl. 83.

[87] From Kalḫu:
– ND 887 – Ash. 1951.46 (Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology): Parker 1955, 105: ND.887 and pl. XVI: 3; Buchanan 1966, 112 no. 618 ("green-glazed composition", height: 25 mm, diameter: 8 mm) and pl. 41;
– BM WA 89419 – 1848–11–4, 295 (British Museum, "from Layard's excavations at Nimrud"): Collon 2001, 44 no. 29 ("faience: now brown, originally glazed", height: 35 mm, diameter: 15.4 mm) and pl. III;
– ND 1992.442 – IM 127980 (Iraq Museum): Hussein – Abdul-Razaq 1997/98, 171 fig. 17; Hussein – Altaweel – Gibson 2016, 52, 184 ("diorite"^{sic}, height: 29 mm, diameter: 11 mm) and pl. 202a.

[88] "Zagros graveyard" near Sanandaj (from tomb A12): Amelirad – Overlaet – Haerinck 2012, 55–56 no. 1 ("faience [?]") and 81: pl. 22: 1.

This hunting scene represents an archer on the left and a hound chasing a rampant wild goat whose head is turned back towards the pursuers. The bearded hunter, kneeling on one knee, has long hair which curls up above his right hand. This particular, S-shaped hairstyle consists of two nearly parallel lines which narrow in the middle part. His outlined eye with broad eyebrow is shaped with similar engravings, which result in the elongated form of his face. The nose and lips are marked with small strokes. Over his tunic he wears a knee-length, triple-belted skirt whose lower edge is indicated with a double line, and a row of closely serrated strokes is attested along both sides of the tunic on his upper body. On the right shoulder of the tunic, the row of strokes terminating in three engravings seems to constitute the seal-cutter's individual or distinctive surface patterning. The curved upper extremity of his bow is visible; the arrow is made with a narrow engraved line, while his fingers are indicated by strokes on both hands. The hound is depicted with body parts such as the neck, body, legs, and tail elongated. It has an outlined eye, and the fur is indicated with a row of strokes on and above the neck and below the belly. Its upraised tail draws an irregular circle. The rampant wild goat, depicted with hollow-backed body, has an outlined eye, a single ear, and curving horn decorated with strokes. The fur on the neck is indicated with a row of lengthwise lines, and there is a row of strokes below the belly. The hooves are indicated on the legs whose arrangement reflects the fleeing motion of the prey. Between the hunter and the wild goat, a crescent moon is depicted in the sky.

Regarding the arrangement of these three silhouette-shaped figures, this scene has several elements, beyond the details, which attest the competence of the seal-cutter, in particular the wild goat's forelegs placed between the hunter's right hand and leg; the crossing of the hunter's left leg and the hound's right rear leg is also perfectly arranged.[89] It is difficult to conclude whether the hunter's head and hair and/or the head of the wild goat, including the exaggerated outlined eye exhibited by both, have been reshaped, since these particular elements are obscured by the damaged surface of the scene. The treatment of these details is not characteristic of the similarly shaped linear-style hunting scenes[90] belonging to this group, provenanced examples of which come from Surkh Dum-i-Luri (Luristan)[91] and Kalḫu;[92] as well, there is an unprovenanced cylinder seal from Collection X….[93] Based on the arrangement of the figures and their surface patterning, such as the closely serrated strokes decorating the hunter's dress and constituting the fur of the animals, this seal is dated to the 9th or 8th century B.C. and belongs to the Assyrian or the neighbouring Iranian cultural sphere.

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[89] For a similar arrangement:
– Collection X…: Drouot (Paris) 30–03–1981, no. 84 ("marbre noir", height: 20 mm, diameter: 9 mm).

[90] As for the hunter kneeling on one knee and the rampant wild goat whose head is turned back towards him, a bronze sword dated to the 12th or 11th century B.C. provides an early example (Calmeyer 1964, 22 and 25 no. 46 and pl. 21). This depiction appears between the hilt and the blade, while, on the other side of the sword, there is a lion with a flying bird of prey.

[91] Sor 1625 (from Surkh Dum-i-Luri) – A25308 (Oriental Institute Museum): van Loon 1989a, 415 no. 45, 457 no. 233:45 ("serpentine", height: 26 mm, diameter: 10 mm) and pl. 233.

[92] ND 5364 (from Kalḫu): Parker 1962, 31: ND.5364 ("black steatite", height: 21 mm) and pl. XIII: 2; and **6**.

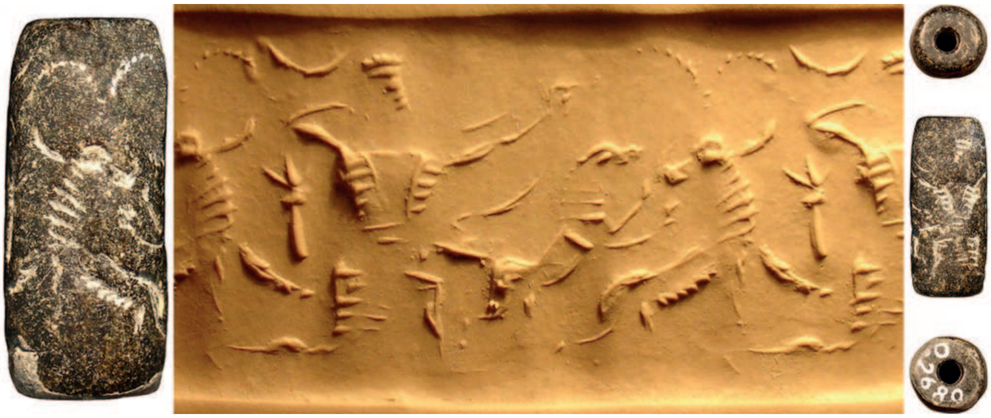
[93] See footnote 89.

6

Hunting scene

Archer aiming at a mouflon pursued by a hound

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2680	Plate 16.
REGISTRATION NR.	ND 5368	
MATERIAL	“black steatite”	
DIMENSIONS	height: 23.9 mm, diameter: 10.1 mm (barrel-shaped), weight: 4.85 g	
CONDITION	The upper and lower thirds of the depicted scene are partly polished, which has diminished the diameter of the edges of the otherwise barrel-shaped cylinder seal and resulted in the disappearance of the small engravings on these parts of the field.	
PROVENANCE	Kalḫu (Nimrud), from the Ninurta Temple cache, from Max E. L. Mallowan’s excavation (1956).[94] Donated by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 02–04–1957.	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Parker 1962, 31–32: ND 5368 and pl. XIII: 3; Negahban 1977, 91–92 no. 7; van Loon 1989a, 415 nos. 45 and 46; Collon 2001, 43 no. 22.	



This hunting scene represents an archer on the left and a hound chasing a rampant mouflon whose head is turned back towards its pursuers. The hunter, kneeling on one knee facing right, has a headband above which the hair is indicated by five strokes. Below the eye, two parallel oblique strokes apparently indicate the nose and mouth, while the hair below the headband and the neck are not visible. The musculature and the proportions are naturalistically indicated on his limbs (see his left hand, grasping the bow, or the musculature of the calf muscles). He is dressed in a tunic and a knee-length skirt, on which the belt is indicated by two lines. The edges are depicted on both sides of the tunic and also on the skirt above the right thigh. The angular shape of the edge of the skirt is indicated above the left knee. In his left hand he holds a bow whose lower half, with its curved end, is visible, while a short, shallow line denotes a detail of the arrow above the left outstretched arm. The pursuing hound is reared up on its hind legs, its head is

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[94] For the date of these finds and their context, see van Loon 1989a, 415 no. 45 (with further bibliography); Oates – Oates 2001, 110–111; Reade 2002, 172–173.

horizontally oriented, and a deep, straight line marks its tail, while its outstretched forelegs are positioned over the rump and back of the mouflon. The mouflon has a single ear and a pair of horns, consisting of continuous strokes which emerge symmetrically in two directions. Its left foreleg is outstretched above the hunter's leaning right leg. The fur of the mouflon is indicated by a row of strokes along the belly, while the fur on the neck is indicated with parallel lines, like that of the hound. In the sky there is a crescent moon above the hunter's right forearm.

Below the hunter's right arm and the raised foreleg of the mouflon there is, on first glance, an ambiguous motif.[95] This is the hanging string of the quiver, which is not itself visible in this scene. A parallel to this representation of the string, depicted below the arrows in the quiver, is attested on a cylinder seal kept formerly in Collection X….[96] The quality of this hunting scene's execution is not as high as that of the studied example; however, this parallel example allows us to identify some details that are barely recognisable on our hunter: the lower part of the hair, the upper half of the bow, and the feet. Moreover, on the upper and lower thirds of the field, the shallow details of the hound and the mouflon are also hardly visible.

As for the iconography of the seal, we can conclude that the lightly designed figures are perfectly proportioned and detailed, by means of curving lines and the patterning shaped by rows of strokes, by comparison to other hunting scenes.[97] Besides the articulation of the limbs, the rampant pose of the hollow-backed animals expresses a naturalistic, dynamic effect, discernible mostly in those details which constitute the deeper engravings. Moreover, some of the fine contour lines and surface engravings visible in the present seal impression[98] can be explained by the high quality of the depiction; however, most of the engraved details (primarily the shallow lines) seem to have been effaced, and in addition the shrunken form of the cylinder seal makes it evident that almost one-third of both the upper and lower parts of the surface was partly polished at some point before deposition. The high-quality depiction and subsequent polishing make our linear-style seal interesting among those cylinder seals which belong to the so-called Ninurta Temple cache, and could equally attest Assyrian or neighbouring Iranian origins. Furthermore, this specimen is important for the study of those problematic cylinder seals which were recut and reshaped in antiquity.

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[95] According to the description of B. Parker: "In the field above, a crescent, and below a plant motif? (this object behind the archer's back does not appear to be in the correct position for a quiver)." (PARKER 1962, 31: ND.5368).

[96] Collection X…: Drouot (Paris) 30–03–1981, no. 83 ("marbre rouge", height: 23 mm, diameter: 11 mm). The trident-shaped object depicted on a seal may provide another possibility of this detail's identification:
– ND 5373 (Kalḫu, the Ninurta Temple cache) – BM WA 140422 – 1987–1–31, 95 (British Museum): PARKER 1962, 33: ND.5373 and pl. XIV:3; COLLON 2001, 36 no. 7 ("chlorite: black", height: 22.5 mm, diameter: 19 mm) and pl. I.

[97] For similar hunting scenes in the linear style, see **5** and its cited examples in footnotes 89 and 91–92 above.

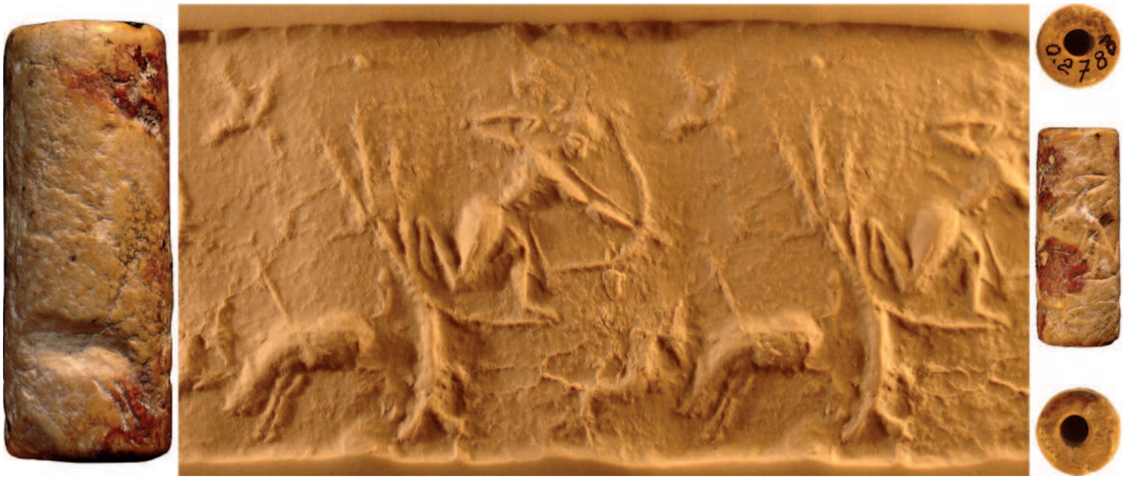
[98] These details are hardly visible on the previously published seal impression (PARKER 1962, pl. XIII: 3).

7

Hunting scene

Archer in a tree, aiming at a boar attacked by a hound

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2783
MATERIAL	"crackled cream stone"
DIMENSIONS	height: 29.2 mm, diameter: 11.4 mm, weight: 6.23 g
CONDITION	The entire surface is damaged seemingly by burning, which could explain several small abrasions on it (see e.g. the body of the hound, the field above the hunter's head).
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection, 11–10–1958.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Collon 2005^2 [first published in 1987], 154–155 no. 691; Herles 2012, 225.



This hunting scene represents an archer on a tree and a hound attacking a boar, which bends its head down in self-defence. The hunter, kneeling on one knee, appears to have a headband, and a hole marks the hair under it. His facial details, such as his eye, nose, and lips, as well as the fingers of his hands, are accurately indicated. He wears a triple-belted tunic over a skirt and has a sword in his belt. Strokes appear on both sides of the tunic. The archer holds a bow whose edges are curved, and aims at the boar, while one arrow is already in the back of his prey. The hound and the boar are depicted at the moment of clash. The hound rears up on its hind legs; a straight, prolonged line marks the tail, the head is horizontally oriented, and its outstretched forelegs are positioned over the bent-down head of the boar, wounded by an arrow. The prey's posture (the hind legs are higher up on the ground plane than its forelegs) and upraised, bristly tail are naturalistically shaped. In the sky, there is a bird which flies towards the conflict; the feathers are indicated on its outstretched wings and tail. The hunting scene is framed by a tree on which the archer is portrayed. The inverted V-shaped base of the stem and the branches with leaves are indicated.

The final moment of a boar hunt[99] in a naturalistic landscape is the special, unique topic of this linear-style seal image. The scene is divided into two levels: an upper part, with the bird and the hunter, and a lower, with the clash between the hound and the wounded boar. The seal-cutter(s) managed to realise the connection between them using the tree and the obliquely positioned figure of the hunter. This arrangement constitutes the seal's most interesting characteristic, since the hunter, aiming downwards at an oblique angle, is portrayed with realistically oriented body placement. This diagonal arrangement is emphasised by the bird flying in the same direction and the direction of the branches. Without designated borders, the oblique lines and spheres arranged into horizontal levels create harmony in this dynamic and lifelike hunting scene.

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[99] For the iconography of boar hunting in the ancient Near East, see Herles 2012.

Regarding the theme, the position of the hunter (archer kneeling on one knee) with a bird flying towards the conflict, it is interesting to note a Middle Assyrian cylinder seal from Marlik[100] in which a similar situation is recognised while the clash happens between a lion and a bull (a secular theme in the art of the Ancient Near East). On the other hand, there is a cylinder seal (Table 2: 10) from Collection X… in which the same figures and subject appear, but without the tree or the high level of iconography.

Classifying the Neo-Elamite seals, P. Amiet (1973)[101] presented five hunting scenes (Table 2: 1–2, 11–13) whose protagonists are archers kneeling on one knee. Although these figures are not depicted on a tree, all of them attest the same posture, body proportions, and surface patterning as in the present seal. Besides them and the studied item, there are six further seals (Table 2: 3–8), including the one mentioned above from Collection X… (Table 2: 10) which belong to the same group based on their stylistic features and depicted themes. The similarities in the details of the archers are evident, such as the headbands, the belted tunics over skirts (the contrast between the narrow hip and broad thigh as well as the engraving which runs along the middle of the skirt above the right thigh on the well-detailed examples), and the position of their legs.

Among the thirteen cylinder seals mentioned above, three come from Susa (Table 2: 1–2, 11), one from Chogha Mish (Table 2: 3) and two from Chigha Sabz (Table 2: 4–5) while the provenance of the other seven (Table 2: 6–11, 13) is unknown. In the iconography of these seals, the decisive role of Elam and its neighbouring regions, which belonged to the Elamite sphere, is evident.

Regarding the hunters and prey in the collected scenes, it is worth comparing them with those Elamite and Elamite-style hunting scenes in which the protagonists are riders portrayed with spears or bows (Table 1 of **2**). The two groups attest complementary hunter types (archer or spearman riding on charging horse versus archer kneeling on one knee). We can appreciate that the hunters' clothing is identical. In both groups, we may note the preference for very naturalistically shaped prey (including mythical creatures), which are similarly depicted in flight; the absence of borderlines; and the omission or very limited use of filling motifs. As for the comparison of the two groups, it is interesting to note a seal (Table 2: 10) on which a riding hunter and a hunter kneeling on one knee are portrayed together in a boar hunt with a hound.

The seals belonging to the first group can equally be seen in modelled style (Table 1: 1–3, 12–15, 18–19) and linear style (Table 1: 4–9, 11, 16–17, 20); as well as there is one faience seal (Table 1: 10); however, linear-style seals (Table 2: 1–12) dominate the second group (except for one specimen: Table 2: 13). Presumably, the higher quality and greater value of these items (regarding their iconography and material) may be connected with their owners, who are depicted as riders, representing their higher status. We can conclude that the two specimens (**2** and **7**) presented in this catalogue show hunting scenes, reflecting male activities, while there is a third Elamite seal (**73**) in the present catalogue that concerns the cultic sphere, in which a female figure known in contemporary Neo-Elamite iconography is portrayed.

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[100] 1095 M (2381) (Marlik Tepe): Negahban 1977, 91–92 no. 7 ("hard black hematite and decorated with a gold cap at each end"; height: 30 mm, diameter: 11 mm) fig. 7 and 102; Matthews 1990, 99 and 142 no. 350. Contrary to E.O. Negahban, who dates this seal between the 12th and 9th centuries B.C., D.M. Matthews classifies it into a group connected to Shalmaneser I (1273–1244 B.C.).

[101] Amiet 1973a, 31 nos. 62–65 and pls. VIII–IX.

Table 2. Hunting scenes depicting archers on seals from the Neo-Elamite art and under its influence.

	PREY	MUSEUM NR.	ORIGIN	MATERIAL	DIMENSIONS (mm)	INSCRIPTION
1[102]	gazelles	AOD 125	Susa	"marbre jaunâtre"	h: 23, d: 10	uninscribed
2[103]	*ibid.*	Sb 1477	*ibid.*	"calcaire rose et blanc"	h: 24.5, d: 11	*ibid.*
3[104]	gazelle or wild goat		Chogha Mish			*ibid.*
4[105]	*ibid.*	CS 377	Chigha Sabz	"porphyry"	h: 26, d: 12	*ibid.*
5[106]	*ibid.*	CS 380	*ibid.*	"porphyry"	h: 25, d: 10	*ibid.*
6[107]	*ibid.*	–	unprovenanced	"pierre brune"	h: 24, d: 9	*ibid.*
7[108]	*ibid.*	private coll.	*ibid.*	"green jasper"	h: 20, d: 8	*ibid.*
8[109]	lion	Anavian Coll.	*ibid.*	"green quartz"	h: 19, d: 8	*ibid.*
9	boar (with hound)	**7**				
10[110]	*ibid.*	Collection X…	unprovenanced	"calcite grise"	h: 22, d: 9	*ibid.*
11[111]	boar[112]	private coll.	*ibid.*			*ibid.*
12[113]	lion-griffin	Sb 6249 (H 412)	Susa	"calcaire jaune"	h: 24, d: 10	*ibid.*
13[114]	*ibid.*	WAG C35	unprovenanced			inscribed
14[115]	deer (or gazelle or wild goat	S.556	Susa	sealing		*ibid.*

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[102] AOD 125 (Musée du Louvre, formerly kept in the Dieulafoy Collection): DELAPORTE 1920, 79 no. D.143 and pl. 52: 19; AMIET 1973A, 31 no. 62 and pl. VIII.

[103] Sb 1477 (Musée du Louvre): RUTTEN 1950, 177 no. 60 and pl. VI: 60; AMIET 1972, 275, 282 no. 2186 and pl. 188: 2186; AMIET 1973A, 31 no. 63 and pl. VIII.

[104] KANTOR 1981–82, 25 (fig.).

[105] CS 377 (from Chigha Sabz) – MIB (Muze-ye Iran Bastan): VAN LOON 1989A, 415 no. 46, 457 no. 233:46 and pl. 233.

[106] CS 380 (from Chigha Sabz) – UM-43-25-280 (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology): VAN LOON 1989A, 415 no. 47, 457 no. 233:47 and pl. 233.

[107] Bailey Collection: Drouot (Paris) 16–12–1992, 16–17 no. 87.

[108] Private collection: WAGNER – BOARDMAN 2003, 126 no. 909 and pl. 131.

[109] Anavian Collection: VOLK 1979, no. 183.

[110] Collection X…: Drouot (Paris) 30–03–1981, no. 108.

[111] "Collection particulière": AMIET 1973A, 31 no. 57 and pl. VIII.

[112] Beside the archer kneeling on one knee, a riding archer and a hound participate in the boar hunt.

[113] Sb 6249 (H 412) (Musée du Louvre): MECQUENEM 1927, 11 no. 46 and 18 (fig.); AMIET 1972, 282 no. 2187 and pl. 188: 2187; AMIET 1973A, 31 no. 64 and pl. IX.

[114] WAG C35 (The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore): GORDON 1939, 29 no. 95 ("plaster impression") and pl. XII; AMIET 1973A, 31 no. 65 and pl. IX.

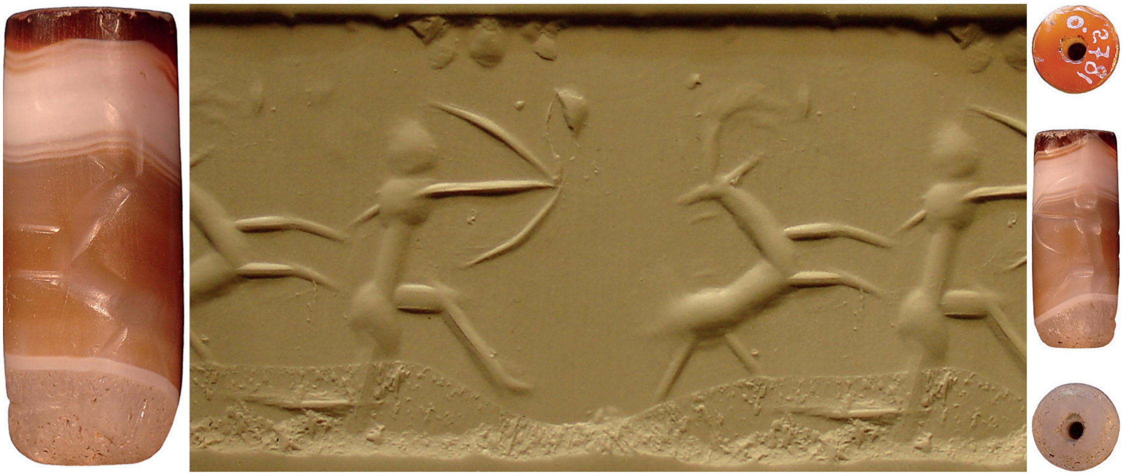
[115] S.556 – AS 9142 (305) (Musée du Louvre): DELAPORTE 1920, 65 no. S. 556 and pl. 48: 9 (S.556); AMIET 1973A, 28 no. 21 and pl. V.

8

HUNTING SCENE

Archer aiming at a gazelle (or wild goat)

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2781 (the authenticity of this unfinished cylinder seal is questionable)
MATERIAL	"banded agate"
DIMENSIONS	height: 29.2 mm, diameter: 11.6 mm (slightly barrel-shaped), weight: 7.21 g
CONDITION	The field is damaged above the hunter and the lower quarter of the field is extensively damaged by pitting, or it may have been etched.[116]
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection, 11–10–1958.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.



This hunting scene represents an archer kneeling on one knee and a rampant gazelle (or wild goat) whose head is turned back towards the hunter. The theme is well known; however, the figures' execution and appearance here make it evident that the scene is unfinished. In the case of the rampant gazelle, the boldly shaped hollow-backed body silhouette and the straight engravings designating the limbs are executed in a way which results in two preliminary phases which one can also find in similar, yet finished, scenes; however, the tail is not formed as well here, and the upper foreleg is positioned too high and seems to extend from the neck.[117] *The archer's treatment also raises many questions, since it is difficult to find a similarly shaped figure which has been left in a preliminary phase. The archer's body consists of three exaggerated oval-shaped hollows (head, shoulder and bottom) while the other body parts reflect unfamiliar proportions and movement. Neither the head and body nor the kneeling position are characteristic of similar hunting scenes (which may depict naked or clothed hunters); moreover, the articulation of the kneeling right leg is remarkably disproportionate. Finally, the hunter's bow is depicted without a string.*

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[116] For a seal with a similar surface condition, see footnote 263 to **36**.

[117] Similar treatment of a rampant wild goat appears on the following seals:
- CBS 8915 (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, from Nippur, in 1891): LEGRAIN 1925, 307 no. 608 ("recut and nearly oval … blue chalcedony", height: 33.5 mm, diameter: 14.5 mm) and pl. XXXI.

The unusual nature of this scene can be explained by its unfinished state – that is, the seal-cutter left it in a preliminary state (although, in this case, the workmanship is even more clumsy and unfamiliar than that might imply). However, the authenticity of this cylinder seal might also be questionable – it could be a modern version of a well-known hunting scene. Given the unfinished image, the available figures do not allow us to make a stylistic analysis, so this question remains unanswered. Although there is no close parallel among images from the first half of the first millennium B.C. or the preceding Middle Assyrian seals, nevertheless, it is important to note one Middle Assyrian seal which contains an unfinished hunting scene. The scene depicts a kneeling archer facing a lion standing on its hind legs. Another seal depicts an Tell Sabi Abyad (fig. 1).[118] The scene depicts a kneeling archer facing a lion standing on its hind legs. Another seal depicts an unfinished rampant gazelle (or wild goat).[119] There are also clearly modern seals (*i.e.*, fakes) with similar figures: one in the Pontificio Istituto Biblico[120] and another one in the Morgan Library & Museum.[121]

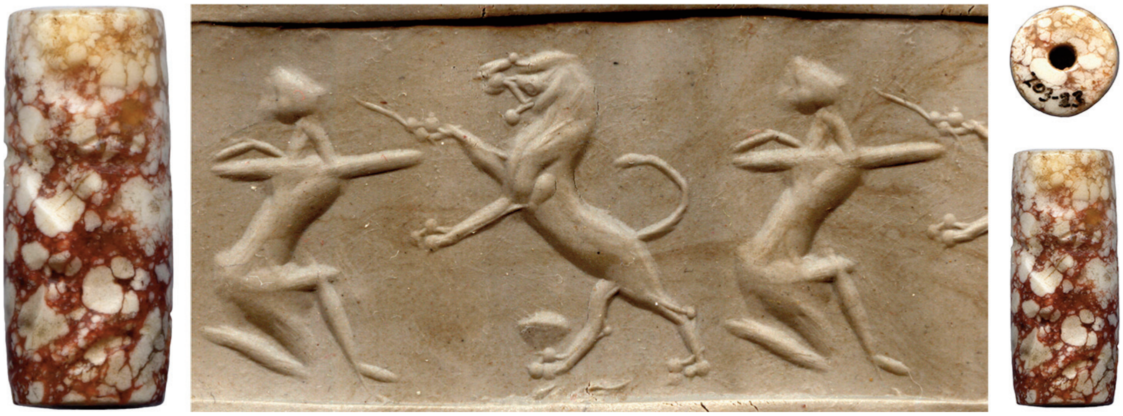

Fig. 1: Z03-23 cylinder seal (porphyry, height: 33 mm, diameter: 12 mm, diameter of the perforation is 3 mm) and its modern impression, unpublished (see footnote 118). © Tell Sabi Abyad project.

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[118] Z03-23 from Tell Sabi Abyad, Middle Assyrian fortified farmstead (*dunnu*), level 6 (1220–1190 B.C.), context: found in a jar dug into the floor of a workshop located in between the fortification wall and the moat surrounding it. The floor was covered with broken mudbricks. Two jars were dug into these mudbricks; in one of them, Z03-23 was found. I am grateful to Peter M.M.G. Akkermans (Leiden University) who allowed me to publish the image (fig. 1).

[119] CBS 5036 (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, acquired in Baghdad in 1890): Legrain 1925, 301 no. 577 ("chalcedony", height: 25.5 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and pl. XXX.

[120] IB. SA: 103 (Pontificio Istituto Biblico, present location Musei Vaticani): van Buren 1940, 41 no. 84 ("cloudy rock crystal", height: 28 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and pl. IX.

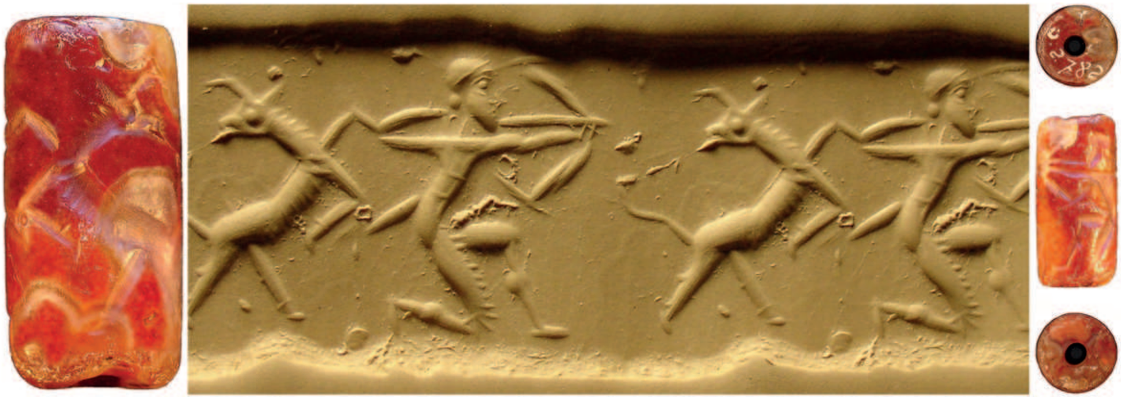
[121] Morgan 814 (Morgan Library & Museum): Porada 1948, 102 no. 814 ("yellowish chert", height: 16 mm, diameter: 8.5 mm) and pl. CXXII.

9

Hunting scene

Archer aiming at a bull

museum number	O.2782	Plate 16.
material		
dimensions	height: 23.1 mm, diameter: 10.9 mm, weight: 5.03 g	
condition	The upper and lower edges are chipped, and there are small faults on the field, while one abrasion runs up from the hunter's left thigh to the bull's muzzle and touches the end of the bull's tail, which does not curve inwards.	
provenance	Formerly in the Moussa Collection (said to be from the region situated "entre l'Élam et Persépolis"), 11–10–1958.	
bibliography	Unpublished.	



This hunting scene represents an archer and a rampant bull whose head is turned back towards the hunter. The bearded archer, kneeling on one knee, is dressed in either a rounded headdress with a brim or a narrow headband, while a drill-hole marks the hair underneath. Over a tunic he wears seemingly knee-length, belted trousers[122] *whose inner edges are indicated by a row of lengthwise strokes on the inner side of his right thigh. He has a sword in his broad belt. The rampant bull has a centre-dot circle eye, a single ear, and a horn whose upper part is turned forward. The fur is indicated with a row of strokes on the upper part of the neck and alongside the belly. Its undulating tail turns upwards. The hooves are marked by one stroke each (except on the upper foreleg, which touches the hunter's elbow). In this scene there is no filling motif.*

In this depiction, the archer, who is shown larger than the bull, dominates the scene. Comparing the two figures, it is evident that the detailed articulation of this hunter (except for his bow) is also finer than that of the bull. His upper body, which leans slightly forwards, and the position of his kneeling and supporting legs denote the last moment before taking aim, whereas the quality of the bull does not attest the same level of detail. The hollow-backed body and the row of strokes on the neck and below the belly are equally elaborated; however, the hind legs, whose joints are marked by short strokes, are simplistic and oddly proportioned. In the carving of the raised foreleg there was not enough space behind the hunter's right shoulder, so it is abbreviated. Besides these unnaturally shaped limbs, the undulating tail is too long when compared to the body and hind legs of the bull, indicating that it could have been made in the last phase of carving, without much care.[123] Due to these inconsistencies, the questions emerge as to how many seal-cutters were involved in producing this seal image, how they respectively contributed to the different work phases, and how they respectively used the tools.

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[122] On similar hunting scenes, the archer kneeling on one knee appears to wear a skirt the lower edge of which is marked with a simple line or a row of strokes indicating its fringes.

The kneeling archer aiming at a rampant animal (mainly a bull or a wild goat) is a well-known scene type among cut-style images; however, the provenance of certain examples with stylistic backgrounds extremely similar to the seal studied here is unknown.[124] Among these unprovenanced cylinder seals it is worth mentioning one kept formerly in the Bailey Collection[125] and another formerly in the Marcopoli collection.[126] They reflect the same arrangement, style, and execution in several respects, such as the posture and surface patterning of the hunters and the body position of their prey. These scenes allow us to gain insight into the manufacture of these cut-style hunting scenes. In the case of the archer, the main elements are the same, except the shaping of the articulation or patterning of the clothing, which is executed in the last phase of carving. The bodies of the animals all appear similar; however the applied elements which differentiate their species seem to have been chosen after the shaping of the body. That is, a long or stubby tail or different horns were chosen during a later phase of carving in order to create a bull, wild goat, or mouflon. The shaping of the hunter's position, the details of his head, and the patterning of his clothes, as well as the bulbous outlined eye and the hollow-backed body of the rampant bull, besides the omission of the borderlines, all reveal Babylonian influence. The place of manufacture is likely to have been somewhere in Babylonia or in the neighbouring Iranian cultural sphere.

10

Hunting scene

Archer aiming at a gazelle (or wild goat)

museum number	O.4623	Plate 16.
material		
dimensions	height: 18.6 mm, diameter: 8.7 mm (slightly barrel-shaped), weight: 2.42 g	
condition	The upper and lower edges are chipped, and there is an abrasion on the upper surface of the cylinder seal. The diameter of the upper hole is bigger than that of the lower, which results in an uneven cavity.	
provenance	Formerly in a Düsseldorf collection (said to be from "Turkey, Anatolia"), 26–03–1991.	
bibliography	Unpublished.	

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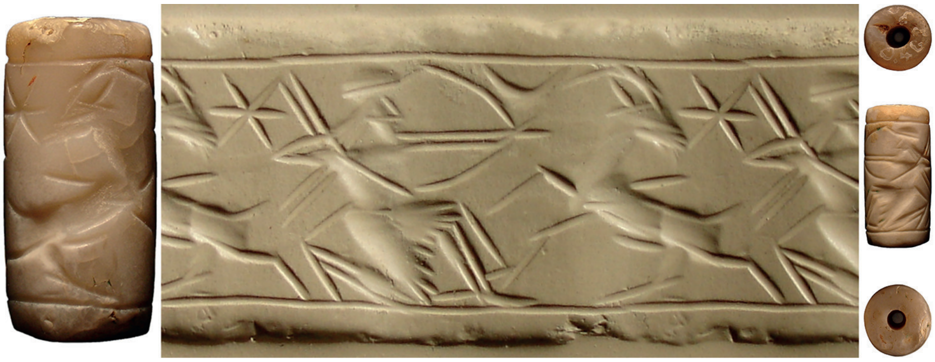
[123] A bull appears in the same position on an inscribed seal depicting a contest scene:
– CBS 14477 (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology): Legrain 1925, 310 no. 624 ("chalcedony", height: 27 mm, diameter: 13 mm) and pl. XXXII.

[124] The same theme is depicted on a cylinder seal from Ur:
– U. 16630 (Iraq Museum, from Ur): Legrain 1951, 43 no. 614 ("limestone", height: 17 mm, diameter: 7 mm) and pl. 36.

[125] Drouot (Paris) 16–12–1992, 16–17 no. 78 ("agate", height: 20 mm, diameter: 10 mm).

[126] Formerly kept in the Marcopoli Collection: Teissier 1984, 182–183 no. 288 ("agate", height: 20 mm, diameter: 11 mm); Christie's (New York) 14–06–1993, 195 no. 275 above.



This hunting scene, depicted between two borderlines at the top and bottom, represents an archer on the left and a rampant gazelle (or wild goat) that faces him but looks back over its shoulder in the opposite direction. The bearded hunter, kneeling on one knee facing right, has a brimmed, rounded headdress under which three diverging lines mark the hair. He wears a belted skirt whose lower fringe is indicated by a row of short lines on the inner side of his right thigh and at the height of his left knee. Over the skirt he has a long robe whose lower inner edge and hem are indicated with lines behind and above his left foot and alongside his left leg respectively. Besides his bow, he has a sword in his belt; the belt is formed with only a single line, instead of being the well-known broad belt. Two oblique lines above his shoulder designate arrows without a quiver while the same kind of double line, in the inverse direction below his shoulder, constitute a schematised depiction of the strings of a quiver. The gazelle, wounded by an arrow, has a single ear, and four overlapping lines form the line of the horn. The stubby tail, the genitalia, and the legs are represented with similar lines. A crescent moon and a six-pointed star are depicted in the sky between and behind the two figures respectively.

Contrary to the cut-style hunting scenes belonging to the same group, this depiction attests several particularities, since the prey is usually shown facing the hunter whereas here it is looking in the other direction. In addition, the arrow in its back also seems to have come from the inverse direction. However, the style and the execution of the archer kneeling on one knee and the rampant gazelle whose head is turned to look back over its shoulder show well-known figure types characterising these hunting scenes. While carving, the seal-cutter(s) seemingly chose an unusual orientation for the two figures; nevertheless, the two figures are appropriately arranged relative to each other in the available space. There is a similar depiction of a hunter, albeit with more detailed execution, in a cylinder seal formerly housed in the collection of Jacques de Morgan,[127] while a similar-quality figure appeared in an auction catalogue.[128] It is worth mentioning that similar cut-style hunting scenes are hardly attested from archaeological excavations; that is why the sealing from the recent excavations at Tell Halaf is important for us.[129] Although the seal image is fragmented, it is possible to identify the archer and his prey, in this case a mouflon, which is depicted in the aforementioned, unusual orientation. Furthermore, there is a six-pointed star between them.

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[127] Musée du Louvre (formerly kept in the collection of Jacques de Morgan, than the Musée Guimet): Delaporte 1909a, 72–73 no. 98 (height: 38 mm, diameter: 15 mm) and pl. VII.

[128] Christie's (South Kensington, London) 25–04–2001, 225–227 no. 511.

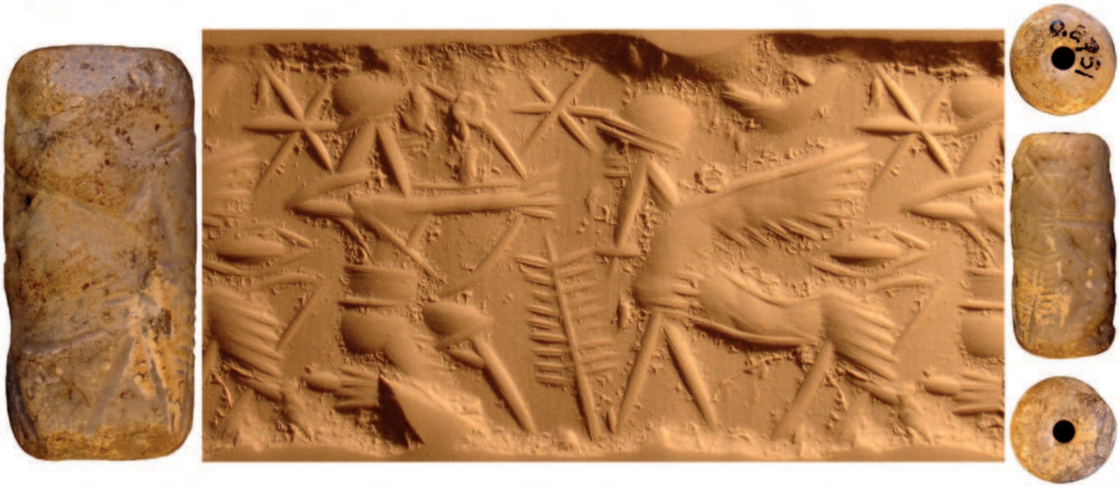
[129] TH06C-0069 (from Tell Halaf): Elsen-Novák 2009, 67 fig. 6-2,3 and 68.

11

HUNTING SCENE

Archer aiming at a human-headed winged lion

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2751
MATERIAL	"pierre blanche"
DIMENSIONS	height: 29.8 mm, diameter: 14.2 mm, weight: 10.32 g
CONDITION	The upper and lower edges are chipped. Faults partly cover the hunter's face and the right knee, and most parts of the field are badly damaged or etched.[130]
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection (said to be from the region situated "entre le Louristan et Kermanshah"), 11–10–1958.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.



This hunting scene represents an archer and a walking human-headed, bearded winged lion (šēdu) depicted facing him. The bearded hunter, kneeling on one knee, has a rounded headdress with a brim. He draws a bow and aims an arrow at the human-headed winged lion. Four strokes mark his fingers of his left hand, while the arrowhead is seemingly not shaped. Over a tunic he is dressed in a long fringed robe with a broad belt; the lower, fringed edge of this robe is visible above the hunter's right feet. The bearded human-headed winged lion has a rounded headdress on which two straight parallel lines appear to represent the brim and not horns. The feathers on his wing and the fur on his haunches are each marked with a row of lines. The forelegs, depicted in walking position, are rendered with long lines without any articulation. The long tail ends between the hind legs. The leonine characteristics of this figure are the body, fur, haunches, and tail. In the sky, there are two six-pointed stars and a crescent moon, while a rhomb is depicted above the tail of the mythical creature and, between the two figures, there is a "bottle-brush" tree.

The archer kneeling on one knee versus his prey animal or adversary mythical creature is a well-known subject among the cut-style hunting scenes. As for the mythical prey, the griffin is attested, besides the present human-headed winged lion. These scenes are characterised by silhouette-shaped figures whose limbs, and surface patterning, like the secondary motifs throughout the scene, are shaped primarily with straight horizontal and oblique lines (only the leonine body of the human-headed winged lion is shaped with slightly curving lines), while it is interesting to note the almost complete absence of vertical lines. Similar hunting scenes of similar quality in which only the chosen prey and the use of filling motifs vary (which might reflect personal choice) were produced in great numbers.[131] In this respect, among the linear-style seals, we can attest the preference for hunting scenes with similar figures, and, among the prey (the mythical figures or hybrid creatures), the human-headed winged bull (*aladlammû*) appears, besides the griffin and the human-headed winged lion.[132]

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[130] Similar particularities are recognised on cylinder seals kept in the British Museum by D. Collon and M. Sax (see footnote 263 to **36**).

12

Hunting scene

Archer and human-headed winged bull on either side of a stylised tree below a winged sun-disc

museum number	O.1479
material	"calcédoine"
dimensions	height: 32.5 mm (the upper part of the cylinder seal has been broken off), diameter: 15.6 mm (barrel-shaped), weight: 12.75 g
condition	The upper part is broken and jagged. The field around the lower part of the stylised tree and between its branches is damaged by small faults, and one abrasion runs from the lower edge below the stylised tree to the head of the fish.
provenance	Acquired from the antiquarian I. Élias Géjou in Paris (said to be from "Warka"), 23–04–1936.
bibliography	Speleers 1943, 118 no. 1479 (in this publication, the negative made of a modern seal impression was reproduced in reverse).

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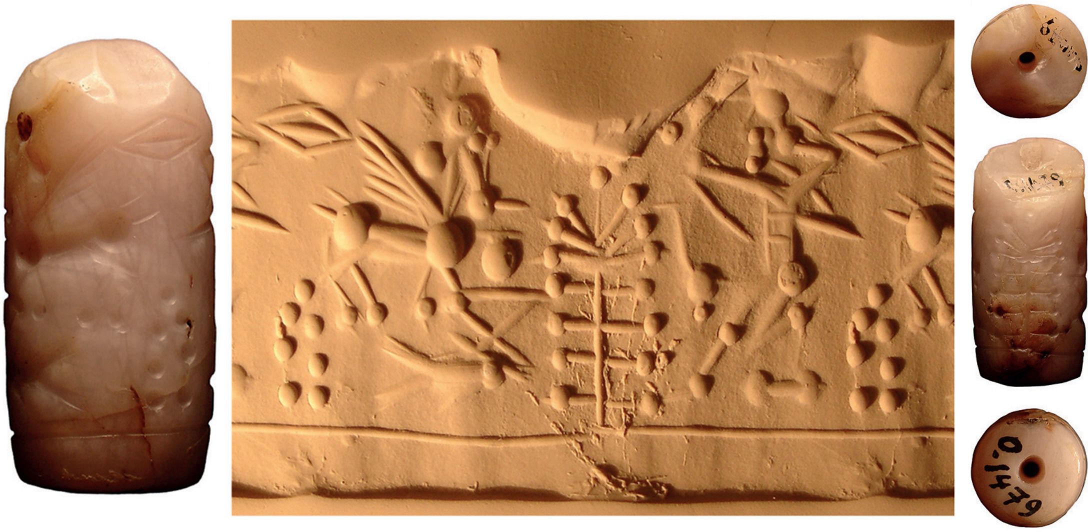
[131] Similar scenes and figures are attested on the following cylinder seals, with and without provenances:
- ND 1992.440 (from Kalḫu) – IM 127977 (Iraq Museum): Hussein – Abdul-Razaq 1997/98, 175 fig. 48; Hussein – Altaweel – Gibson 2016, 52, 184 and pl. 201e;
- Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem, formerly kept in the Borowski Collection: Williams-Forte 1981a, 145 no. 107 ("chalcedony", height: 23.9 mm, diameter: 11.5 mm);
- 112 (Adana Arkeoloji Müzesi; acquired from art market in 1944): Tunca 1979, 23 no. 103 ("calcédoine blanche", height: 39 mm, diameter: 16 mm) and pl. XI;
- for two further examples, see footnote 127.

The griffin is depicted on the following seals:
- AO 7165 (Musée du Louvre): Delaporte 1923, 164 no. A.650 ("agate blanche rubanée", height: 30 mm, diameter: 14 mm) and pl. 86: 16 (the parallel lines under the feet of the winged griffin seemingly designate the mountain);
- Morgan 1145 (Morgan Library & Museum): Porada 1948, 89 no. 725 ("milky chalcedony", height: 35 mm, diameter: 16 mm) and pl. CVIII.

[132] For the three types of prey depicted on linear-style hunting scenes, see for example:
- griffin: van Buren 1959, 24 no. 106 and pl. VII;
- human-headed winged bull: N 3356 – N III 732 (Musée du Louvre, from Khorsabad): Delaporte 1920, 86 no. 3 (K.2) ("serpentine", height: 28 mm, diameter: 13 mm) and pl. 57;
- human-headed winged bull: BM WA 89621 – N 1121 (British Museum, "from Layard's expeditions to Mesopotamia between 1845 and 1851"): Collon 2001, 42 no. 14 ("serpentinite", height: 41 mm, diameter: 16 mm) and pl. II;



This hunting scene represents an archer kneeling on one knee on the right and a human-headed winged bull (aladlammû) which faces right towards him. Between the two figures, a stylised tree, placed on the lower borderline, consists of a central upright stem with four globe-tipped horizontal branches on either side, and its upper half consists of seven more globe-tipped branches radiating from its stem, which gives it a palm-like effect. Above the stylised tree, around the broken edge, there are three drill-holes which constitute the right edge and the lower part of the feathered, flaring tail of a winged sun-disc. The bearded archer dominates the scene on the right side of the stylised tree, while the human-headed winged bull, which is shown smaller than the archer, occupies the upper half of the field on the left side. In front of the human-headed winged bull, there is a folding table with a globular rimmed vessel (aryballos) above a fish, while in front of the hunter, a beak-spouted vessel is depicted. Below the hunter there is a globe-tipped horizontal symbol: a unique motif[133] *with each end marked by a drill-hole. Behind the archer and the human-headed winged bull, there is a rhomb on the upper field and the Sibitti, arranged vertically, are on the lower field.*

The combination of the figures and filling motifs constitutes a real particularity of the composition, while the execution and style, on the other hand, attest individual treatment among the hunting scenes. The design is characterised by the arrangement of the chosen elements on the field with little empty space between them. According to this conception, the hunter's feet are non-naturalistically arranged in order to place the filling motifs, while, on the other side of the field, the folding table is partly overlapped by the fish and the foreleg of the human-headed winged bull. As for the competence of the seal-cutter(s), it is interesting to note the human-headed winged bull's tail, where there are three differently shaped and disposed strokes in place of a single tail. The meaning of the horizontal line which seemingly protrudes from its beard above the globular rimmed vessel is questionable, as is that of the lines above and below the hunter's raised arm. These are probably misplaced strokes.

– human-headed winged lion: N 3355 – N III 731 (Musée du Louvre, from Khorsabad): DELAPORTE 1920, 86 no. 8 (K.3) ("serpentine", height: 35 mm, diameter: 11 mm) and pl. 57.

[133] Contrary to the "*Ball-and-staff(?)* unusual symbol" (COLLON 2001, 12: I.5.5.1), the present symbol with each end marked by a drill-hole is depicted without "a central globe attached below it."

The depiction is also exceptional in regard to the combination of the figures and motifs, in that elements of three different scenes can be discerned. The connection between the archer and the human-headed winged bull is evident, and the Sibitti, the rhomb, and the fish are also attested in similar hunting scenes; however, the other elements generally belong to banquet and ritual scenes. Although usually the "bottle-brush" tree appears as a secondary motif between or behind the hunter and his prey, in this case, the stylised tree surmounted by a winged disc has been chosen. An almost identical emblematic tree constitutes the focal point of several ritual scenes,[134] while the folding table with vessel is the main element of banquet scenes. In addition to the main theme, that is, the hunting scene, the present example is also connected to ritual or cultic scenes, since among those scenes we can attest characteristics of the carving methods and style of the present example:[135] the silhouette-shaped bodies, deep engravings and strokes, and different-sized drill-holes (see e.g. **58**, **70**, and **74**). The exaggerated forms and the eclectic choice of figures with the excessive use of filling motifs are discernible on these drilled-style seals also.

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[134] For a similar stylised tree surmounted by a winged sun-disc whose tail is decorated with drill-holes:
– Morgan 1145 (Morgan Library & Museum): PORADA 1948, 162 no. 1145 ("yellow-and-drab marble mottled with red … The material of this seal is unparalleled", height: 47 mm, diameter: 17 mm) and pl. CLXXV (E. Porada mentions this specimen among the forgeries);
– ND 5262 (from Kalḫu): PARKER 1962, 28: ND.5262 ("pale grey chalcedony … originally covered with copper caps", height: 45 mm, diameter: 18 mm) and pl. IX: 1;
– BM WA 89319 – 1856–5–2, 23 (British Museum): COLLON 2001, 131–132 no. 247 ("chalcedony: streaked, pink and colourless, almost transparent", height: 35 mm, diameter: 16 mm) and pls. XX and XLIII.

[135] Besides the similar use of tools, the eclectic combination of different figures and motifs can be attested on the following cylinder seal:
– Ash. 1974.362 (Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, said to be from Palestine): MOOREY – GURNEY 1978, 52 no. 46 ("bluish chalcedony", height: 27 mm, diameter: 14 mm) and pl. VII.

II.

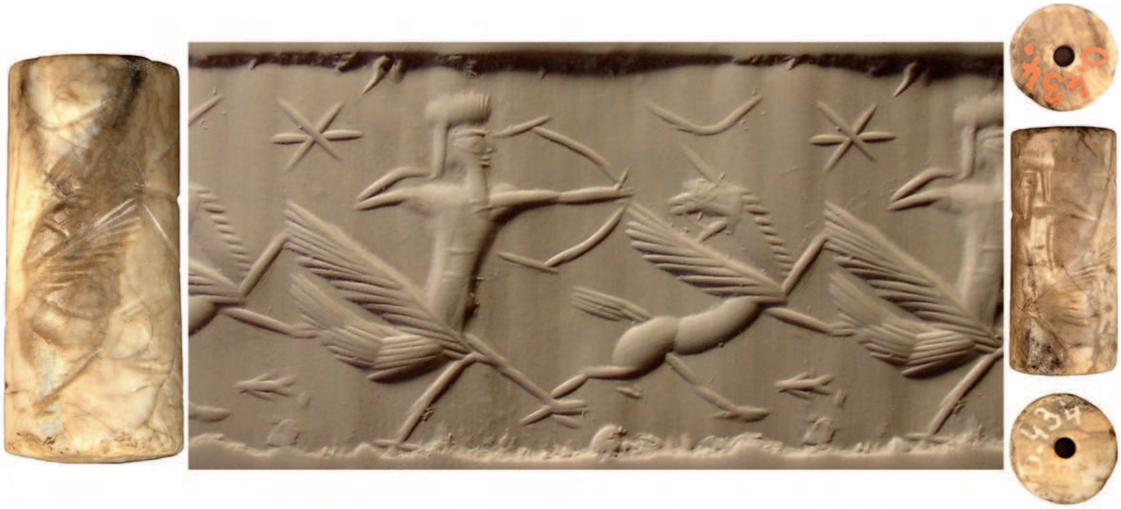
Pursuing Scenes (13–18)

13

Pursuing scene

Scorpion-tailed bird-man with bow and a lion-griffin

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.434
MATERIAL	“pierre grisâtre opaque”
DIMENSIONS	height: 33.2 mm, diameter: 14.5 mm, weight: 12.46 g
CONDITION	The upper and lower edges are slightly chipped, and there is a small abrasion between the lion-griffin’s hind legs.
PROVENANCE	According to L. Speleers’s descriptions (Speleers 1920, 14; Speleers 1923a, 20), l’abbé de Genouillac acquired the cylinder seals (O.414–468) in Baghdad during his travels of 1911–12. The museum bought this lot in Paris (1913).
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Speleers 1917, 184–185 no. 434; Speleers 1920, 30 and Pl. XII; Speleers 1923a, 48 and pl. VIII.



This pursuing scene represents a scorpion-tailed bird-man (winged scorpion-man)[136] *with a bow and a fleeing lion-griffin*[137] *whose head is turned backwards above its wing. The pursuer is portrayed with a human upper body, a bird wing and legs with talons, and a scorpion tail. His unusual hairdo consists of a row of vertical strokes in a hollow and an upright engraving, which constitutes the lower part of his shoulder-length hair, terminating in a small curve below his right hand. He wears a tunic and a broad belt. The lion-griffin has a leonine body, forelegs, and head with open muzzle, while the wing, tail, and hind legs are avian features, and, finally, the creature has a donkey-ear.*[138] *In the sky, there are a six-pointed star above the scorpion-tailed bird-man's wing and a crescent moon over the head of the lion-griffin, while a small fish facing left is below its lowered foreleg.*

The seal-cutter(s) managed to express the dynamic effect which characterises this modelled-style pursuing scene by the shaping of the figures. Comparing the disposition of the two figures, it is evident that the pursuer is still touching the earth with one leg, while the pursued has already started to fly. Besides the arrangement of the figures relative to the ground, the junction of their legs creates a connection between them, since the pursuer's leg, which is just lifted, crosses the hind leg of the lion-griffin.

On the elaborate mythological scenes which depict Ninurta pursuing Anzû, similar dynamic movements and postures can be seen.[139] The parallels between these scenes are evident, since the pursued figures (viz. the lion-griffins) are identical and the pursuers with the bow also reflect the same attitude. The scorpion-tailed bird-man depicted against the lion-griffin may have played the same role as Ninurta does in the Lugal-e and the Angim[140] and in the *Bin šar dadmē* (the Akkadian Epic of Anzû).[141] This mythological theme, with philological and iconographical analysis, will be presented in the author's forthcoming monograph on the imagery of the divine world.

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[136] Green 1994, 255: § 3.15. For the iconography of Pabilsaĝ, the Sagittarius, see Krebernik 2004, 164: § 5.

[137] Green 1994, 258: § 3.25 and see footnote 139 below.

[138] On the less detailed depictions of this creature, it is difficult to differentiate the donkey-ear from the horn, but the more detailed images make it evident that the lion-griffin is depicted with a donkey-ear. On one of the reliefs discovered in the Ninurta temple at Kalḫu, Anzû is depicted with donkey-ears pointing forward, at an oblique angle (Layard 1853, pl. 5). As for the examples provided by detailed glyptics related to this question, see for example:
– Ass 9451 (from Assur) – VA 5180 (Vorderasiatisches Museum): Moortgat 1940, 139 no. 595 ("Chalzedon", height: 42 mm, diameter: 17 mm) and pl. 71;
– BM WA 129560 – 1945–10–13, 104 (British Museum; formerly kept in the Southesk Collection, acquired in 1894 from W. Talbot Ready, from Baghdad): Carnegie 1908, 101–102 no. Q ɣ 23 and pl. VIII: Qc 23; Collon 2001, 152 no. 292 ("chalcedony: mottled, dark brown and pink", height: 29.5 mm, diameter: 11 mm), pls. XXIV and XXXV.

[139] For iconographical analysis of the "Ninurta pursuing Anzû" theme, see Seidl 1998; Collon 2006.

[140] Cooper 1978; van Dijk 1983.

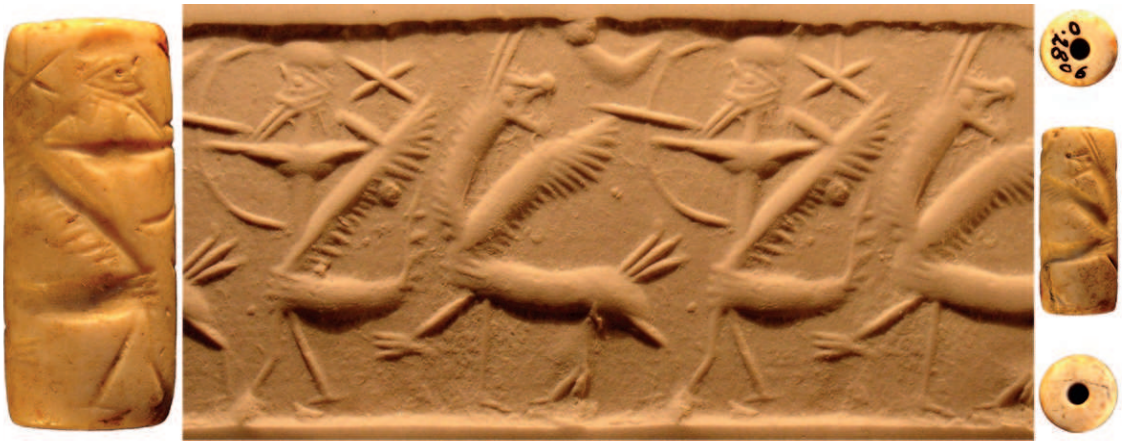
[141] Vogelzang 1988; Annus 2001.

14

PURSUING SCENE

Scorpion-tailed bird-man with bow and a lion-griffin

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2806	Plate 17.
MATERIAL		
DIMENSIONS	height: 25.2 mm, diameter: 10.7 mm, weight: 5.05 g	
CONDITION	There is a small abrasion in front of the scorpion-tailed bird-man's eye and another on his wing. Furthermore, another abrasion covers partly the lion-griffin's right hind leg. The field is slightly damaged around the figures.	
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection, 11–10–1958.	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.	



This pursuing scene represents a scorpion-tailed bird-man (winged scorpion-man) with a bow and a fleeing lion-griffin whose head is turned backwards above its wing. The two figures face left, which is rare in similar scenes. The pursuer consists of three oval-shaped hollows (hair or headdress, breast, and lower body), while a large engraving intersected by the breast constitutes the neck and the abdominal section and another oblique one is the long wing. His scorpion tail consists of a row of short engravings and terminates in a triangle similar to an arrowhead. The pursued creature is characterised by a hollowed body, elongated curving neck with a row of strokes designating the fur and a bird tail. Engravings similar to the scorpion-tailed bird-man's beard form its long donkey-ears and bird tail. In the sky, a crescent moon is between the lion-griffin and the scorpion-tailed bird-man, while a six-pointed star is depicted above the bird-man.

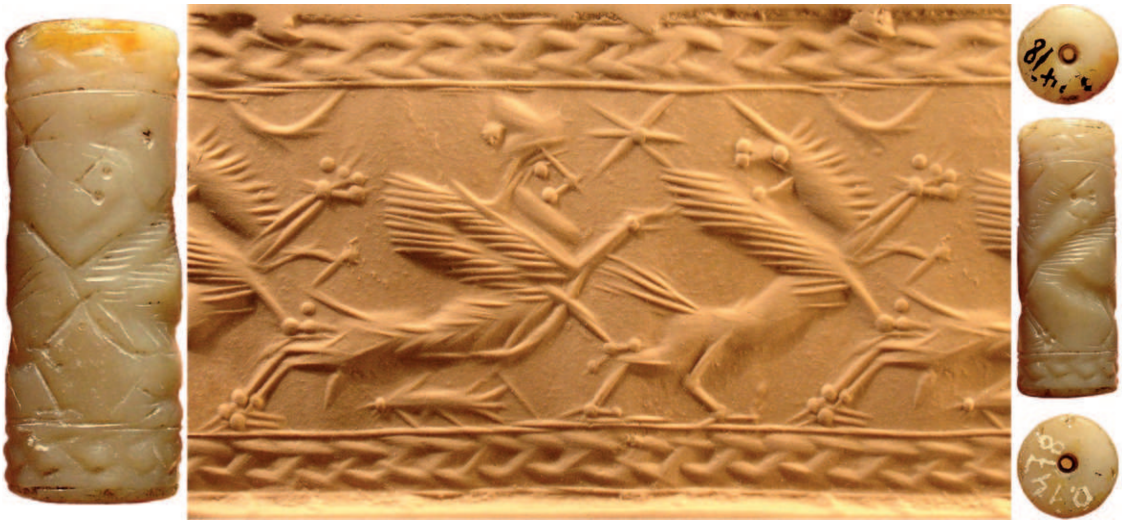
Aside from the leftward orientation, the scorpion-tailed bird man and the lion-griffin attest the canonical features which characterise these well-known figure types. Regarding the shaping of the former figure, an exaggerated, outlined almond-shaped eye with a hole in the middle dominates the face, while a further curve and oblique strokes constitute the nose, which ends in a hole, and two oblique lines designate the beard below it. This treatment creates an angular, outlined effect, which can be attested in the rendering of the lion-griffin's opened muzzle. As for the patterning of the two figures, the rows of lines constitute the feathers on their wings, while shorter lengthwise strokes constitute the fur on the neck of the lion-griffin and the articulation of the scorpion tail of the pursuer.

15

Pursuing scene

Human-headed winged lion and lion-griffin

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.1478	Plate 17.
MATERIAL	"opale(?)"	
DIMENSIONS	height: 37.2 mm, diameter: 13.7 mm, weight: 12.88 g	
CONDITION	There are two chips on the upper edge and a small fault behind the headdress of the human-headed winged lion. Because of damage, the framing outer lines of the guilloche borders are partially visible.	
PROVENANCE	Acquired from the antiquarian I. Élias Géjou in Paris (said to be from "Nippur"), 23–04–1936.	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Speleers 1943, 120–121 no. 1478 (in this publication the negative was reproduced reversed).	



This pursuing scene is depicted between two guilloche borders framed by straight borderlines. As for the two mythical creatures on it, the lion-griffin's head is turned backwards above its wing. The human-headed winged lion (šēdû), depicted with a bearded human face, wears a conical headdress with a brim, and its long hair curves up below it (there is a circular chip behind the headdress). It has leonine characteristics such as the paws on the forelegs, the tail, and the body, on which an inverted V-shape row marks the fur, while the hind legs are shaped similarly to those of birds of prey. On its wing, the feathers are arranged in double rows. The lion-griffin is depicted with an opened muzzle and a horn, or more likely a donkey-ear, pointing forward, at an oblique angle.[142] *The fur on its neck is marked with a row of lines. The body and the forelegs also show leonine characteristics, while its wing, bird tail, and hind legs attest avian features. In the sky, there is a six-pointed star with a globe in the middle between the two creatures, and a crescent moon is depicted above the lion-griffin, while a fish is below the human-headed winged lion.*

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[142] See footnote 138.

With regards to the engraving, we can observe several details which were made in the preliminary phase and were ignored at the execution of the two creatures. In the case of the human-headed winged lion, there is a small line evidently marking its tail between its upper hind leg and the lion-griffin's lowered paw; a thick curved line from its upraised leg runs below the belly, and there is a "third" foreleg touching the borderline, behind the fish. In the case of the lion-griffin, between its forelegs, there is also a "third" one left unfinished. Contrary to these incorrect details, the seal-cutter(s) who made or finished the two figures and the framing guilloche borders worked on the scene's details accurately; see the lion-griffin's well-shaped, opened paw on the upper foreleg, facing the viewer. The correction made using the secondary, seemingly inserted base line below the lion-griffin's further hind leg also reflects the adequate competence of the seal-cutter(s). With this solution, this leg is also placed on the ground.

Apart from the drill-holes of the guilloche borders, a similar framing decoration is attested on a cylinder seal kept in the Morgan Library & Museum.[143] The three filling motifs (crescent moon, six-pointed star with a globe in the middle, and fish), the silhouette-shaped body, and the articulations shaped with small engravings or drill-holes are also recognisable on both pursuing scenes. However, it is interesting to note that on the Morgan seal the human-headed winged lion wears a feathered crown, while the present figure has a conical headdress with a brim.[144] According to B. Wittmann's classification, the Morgan seal belongs to the "Älterer modellierender Stil" group,[145] and D. Collon dates a similar-style seal, kept in the British Museum, to the 9th century BC,[146] a date that can also be accepted in the case of the present Babylonian seal.

16

PURSUING SCENE

Winged bull and bird-griffin

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.1638
MATERIAL	"sardoine"
DIMENSIONS	height: 25.6 mm, diameter: 11.7 mm, weight: 6.64 g
CONDITION	The upper and lower edges are chipped. A large fault is below the bird-griffin's belly and another below the tail. Furthermore, there are small scattered faults on the field.
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Cugnin Collection, 15–05–1939.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Legrain 1911, 43 no. 68 and pl. VI; Speleers 1939, 108 fig. 68; Speleers 1943, 120 no. 1638 (in this publication the negative was reproduced reverse).

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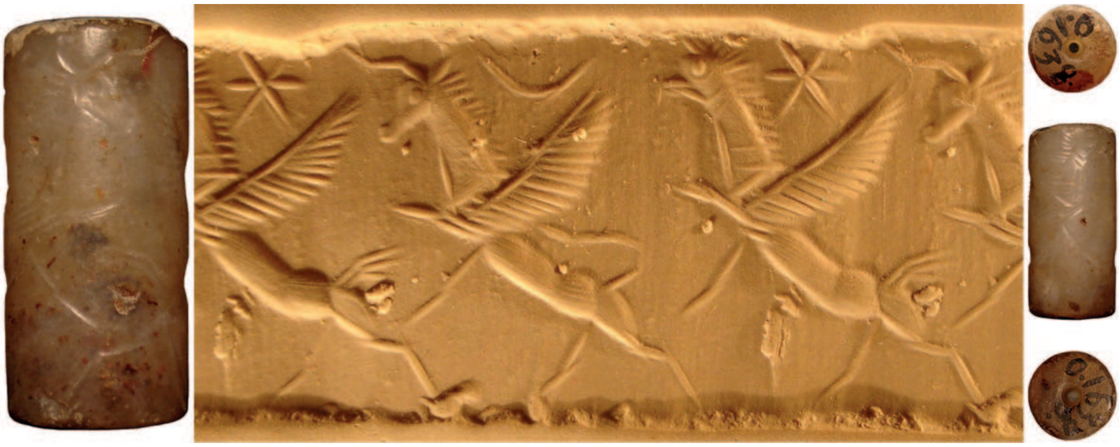
[143] Morgan 749 (Morgan Library & Museum): Porada 1948, 91 no. 749 ("banded agate" cylinder seal with convex sides, height: 30 mm, diameter: 9 [11] mm) and pl. CXIII.

[144] The headdress appears on a Middle Assyrian seal image:
– formerly kept in the De Clercq Collection: De Clercq – Menant 1888, 197 no. 363 ("sardoine", height: 39 mm, diameter: 15 mm) and pl. XXXIII; Matthews 1990, 98 no. 355.

[145] Wittmann 1992, 195, 258 no. 35 and pl. 20.

[146] BM WA 105155 – 1913–4–14, 3 (British Museum, acquired from Alfred Holland): Collon 2001, 167–168 no. 324 ("chalcedony / chert: streaked, dark and pale grey, barely translucent", height: 37 mm, diameter: 17 mm) and pl. XXVII.



This pursuing scene represents a winged bull and bird-griffin in pursuit of each other. The two mythical creatures face left, in a rare example among similar scenes. The figures are made with deep, hollow silhouettes, including the elongated neck with a row of strokes above it, the feathered wing, and the very similar position of the legs. Besides these common features, the main attributes of the two creatures show differences: the bird-griffin has the beak of a bird of prey, lines marking the curls on the neck, and a bird tail, while the winged bull is depicted with an ear and long horn turned forward and a long tail curving backwards to the lower part of the wing. In the sky, a crescent moon is above the winged bull and a six-pointed star above the bird-griffin.

Aside from the leftward orientation, this cut-style scene demonstrates the main features of this well-defined group, whose main participants are mythical creatures such as the lion-griffin, the bird-griffin and the winged bull.[147] These features constitute a low-relief silhouette treatment of the body; the large eyes; the engravings used to shape the wing with feathers; the details of the neck, the tail, and the legs; and the filling motifs used in the scene. Besides the execution of the hybrid creatures, the repetitive usage of the filling motifs and the omission of any particular, distinctive motifs in the scene which could differentiate the depictions also seem to point to the creation of seals like this in great quantities. Since those cut-style pursuing-scene cylinder seals[148] that have a provenance come from southern Mesopotamia, they are presumably Babylonian in origin.[149] Among the pursuing scenes, since a cylinder seal formerly kept in the collection of Natasha Rambova[150] attests the same properties as the seal studied here, we propose that they were made in the same workshop.[151]

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[147] For further pursuing scenes with similar characteristics, although with the hybrid creatures facing right (in the other direction):
- formerly kept in the Brett Collection: von der Osten 1936, 18 no. 124 (“rock crystal”, height: 20 mm, diameter: 10 mm) and pl. XI;
- N 2368 (Durham University Oriental Museum, formerly the Gulbenkian Museum of Oriental Art and Archaeology): Lambert 1979, 26 no. 79 (“chalcedony”, height: 31 mm, diameter: 15 mm) and pl. IX;
- 9-1952 (Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, formerly the Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley): Tomabechi 1984, 48 no. 134 (“chalcedony”, height: 23 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and pl. XIII: pl. 93;
- BM WA 119328 – 1928–2–11, 31 (British Museum; “acquired from Major Mocatta, possibly from Warka”): Collon 2001, 52 no. 64 (“chalcedony: streaked, browns”, height: 22.5 mm, diameter: 13.5 mm), pls. V and XXXIV;
- private collection: Wagner – Boardman 2003, 128 no. 930 (“milky white agate”, height: 26 mm, diameter: 11 mm) and pl. 135;
- VR 1981.123 (Bibel+Orient Museum, Sammlung der Universität Fribourg): Keel-Leu – Teissier 2004, 145 no. 148 (“milchig weisser durchsichtiger Quarz”, height: 38.2 mm, diameter: 17.5 mm) and 436 (pl.).

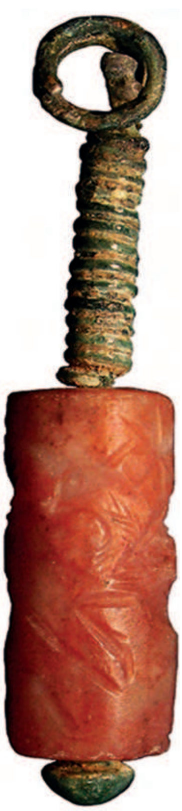
[148] For pursuing scenes with similar figures and filling motifs depicted on linear-style seals from Tell Halaf:
- VA 12843 (Vorderasiatisches Museum): Moortgat 1940, 144 no. 648 (“grauer Kalkstein”, height: 23 mm, diameter: 10 mm) and pl. 77; von Oppenheim – Hrouda 1962, 35 no. 38 and pl. 25;
- BM WA 138127 – 1920–12–11, 433 (British Museum): von Oppenheim – Hrouda 1962, 35 no. 40 and pl. 26; Collon 2001, 54–55 no. 78 (“serpentinite: black, weathered grey”, height: 30.5 mm, diameter: 12.5 mm) and pl. VI.

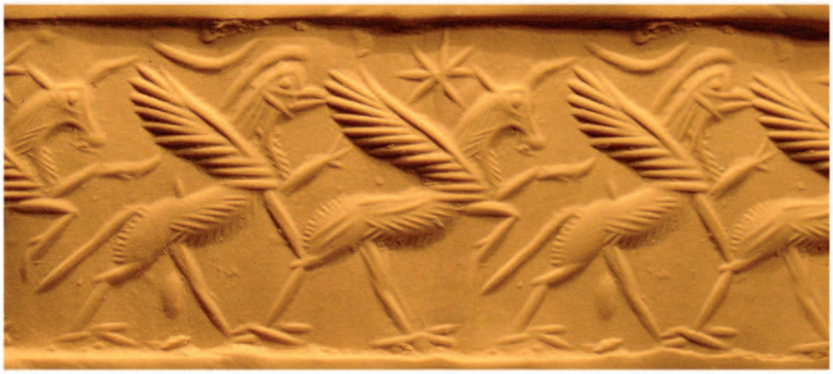
17

Pursuing scene

Winged bull and bird-griffin

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2762
MATERIAL	"pierre rose" with tin-bronze suspension loop
DIMENSIONS	height: 20.9 mm, diameter: 8.2 mm (with suspension loop: 44.9 mm), weight: 3.83 g with suspension loop[152]
CONDITION	There are chips between the bird-griffin's hind legs and above the crescent moon.
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection (said to be from "Kermanshah"), 11–10–1958.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.





This pursuing scene represents a bird-griffin and a winged bull in pursuit of each other. The two mythical creatures, both facing right, have several common features: the silhouettes of their bodies, their motion, and the shaping of the hind legs and the feathered wings. With regards to their surface patterning, an inverted

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[149] Porada 1948, 89; Lambert 1979, 26 no. 79; Collon 2001, 52 no. 64.

[150] Sotheby's (London) 08–07–1991, 39 and 45 no. 96 ("quartz", height: 30 mm).

[151] For another scene depicting a bird-griffin and winged bull with a leftward orientation but with simplified execution:
– Sissa Collection: van Buren 1959, 24 no. 105 ("agate", height: 21 mm, diameter: 10 mm) and pl. VII.

[152] For a similarly formed tin-bronze suspension loop:
– BM WA 135162 – 1969–11–1, 2 (British Museum): Collon 2001, 62 no. 99 ("serpentinite … slightly barrel-shaped", height: 39.5 mm, diameter: 12.5 [14] mm, height of bronze pin: 77 mm), pls. VIII and XLIII.

V-shaped row marks the fur along the belly, while a row of short strokes runs below the neck and again over the haunch. These are also similarly treated on the two hybrid creatures. However, some details also show particular attributes which allow us to identify and differentiate these figures. In the engraving of the bird-griffin, the beak of a bird of prey, the crest, and the claws on the upraised foreleg are indicated, as well as the long, slightly diverging lines on the neck, which show a simplified treatment of the bird-griffin's main attribute, that is, the long curls, which usually curve down on the neck and end partly on the wing.[153] *The winged bull has an ear and a horn, the hooves are marked on the forelegs, and a row of V-shaped lines marks the fur on the neck, while two pairs of lines are depicted, on the flank and the haunch, respectively. In the sky, an eight-pointed star appears above the winged bull and a crescent moon above the bird-griffin.*

Contrary to the usual properties of the creatures (described above), in this cut-style scene, the winged bull's hind legs terminate in unusual talons; moreover, when comparing the tail (or lack thereof) there is a striking difference between the two figures, because the winged bull is depicted without tail while the bird-griffin has a long tail, which is usually represented as part of the winged bull, instead of the well-known, feathered bird tail.[154] The reason for the omission of the winged bull's tail can be explained by the absence of available space; in the same way, the lowered foreleg of the bird-griffin is also shaped without claws. We can also note the shape of the astral symbols: the right side of the crescent moon is modified and the right horizontal ray of the star is shortened due to shortage of space, that is, because they fill the available space between the figures' head and wing. As regards the winged bull's tail, it is worth comparing this scene with a cylinder seal kept formerly in the Southesk Collection[155] that constitutes its close parallel, on which the engraver found a solution by disposing of the long tail of the winged bull between the forelegs and below the belly of the bird-griffin. A detailed, high-quality item depicting the same figures with canonical features was kept formerly in the Bailey Collection,[156] while another comparable seal image was formerly kept in the collection of Natasha Rambova.[157] This latter pursuing scene depicts a lion-griffin and a bird-griffin, the latter similarly shaped to the present bird-griffin with regard to the head, crest, hind legs, and feathered wing but without the row of strokes designating the fur.[158] Similarly to the previous specimen (**16**), the present seal seems to have originated in Babylonia.

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[153] For the long curls of the griffins depicted on engraved ivory panels, in Phoenician style, see for example BARNETT 1975, 236: Suppl.42 (BM WA 132944), Suppl.47 (BM WA 132695) and pl. CXXXIX; HERRMANN – LAIDLAW 2008, 200 no. 262 (IM 79530) and pl. 84.

[154] For another bird-griffin depicted with a long tail in a contest scene, see **34** in the present catalogue.

[155] BM WA 129573 – 1945–10–13, 117 (British Museum; formerly kept in the Southesk Collection, acquired in 1902 from J.J. Naaman): CARNEGIE 1908, 109 no. no. Q ý36; COLLON 2001, 52 no. 62 ("chalcedony: pale grey… ends slightly convex", height: 18.5 mm, diameter: 8 mm), pls. V and XLIII. For another seal showing the two hybrid creatures which provides a close parallel to the studied example:
– Drouot (Paris) 05–12–1994, 9 and 11–12 no. 26 ("calcédoine gris-bleu", height: 20 mm, diameter: 8 mm).

[156] Drouot (Paris) 16–12–1992, 16–17 no. 80 ("agate rouge", height: 27 mm, diameter: 10 mm).

[157] Sotheby's (London) 08–07–1991, 38 and 44 no. 93 ("agate", height: 25 mm).

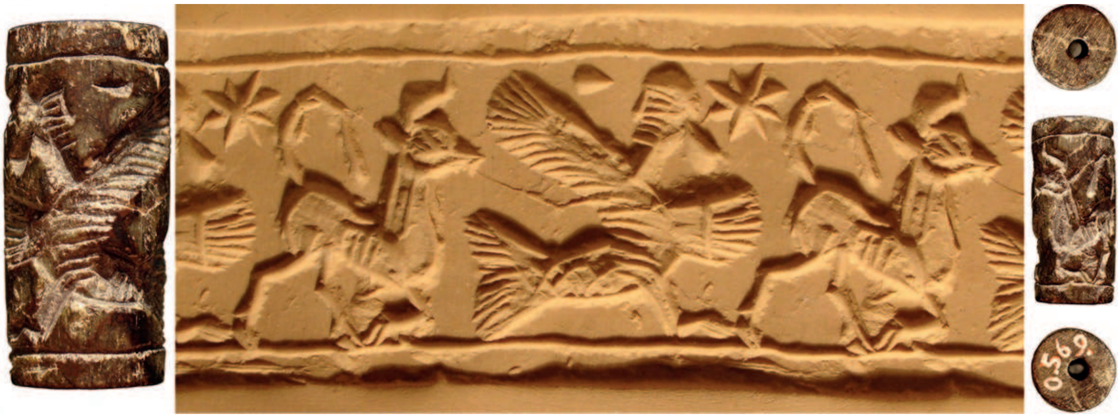
[158] For another seal depicting a bird-griffin and a winged bull in a similar style and execution:
– formerly kept in the Marcopoli Collection; TEISSIER 1984, 180–181 no. 276 ("chalcedony", height: 19 mm, diameter: 9 mm); Christie's (New York) 14–06–1993, 191 no. 273 (3rd item).

18

PURSUING SCENE

Bull and human-headed bird-fish

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.569	PLATES 16–17.
MATERIAL	"pierre bleuâtre"	
DIMENSIONS	height: 24.7 mm, diameter: 11.1 mm, weight: 5.06 g	
CONDITION	On the field, a fault crosses the bull's foreleg, and a narrow abrasion runs from the bull's muzzle to the human-headed bird-fish's wing (above the wing, a small, distorted deep engraving seemingly designates a simplified crescent moon).	
PROVENANCE	According to L. Speleers's descriptions (SPELEERS 1920, 14; SPELEERS 1923A, 20), l'abbé de Genouillac acquired the cylinder seals (O.469–593) in Syria during his travels of 1911–12. The museum bought this lot in Paris (1913).	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	SPELEERS 1917, 185 no. 569; SPELEERS 1923A, pl. VIII; VAN BUREN 1942, 365 no. 8.	



This pursuing scene, depicted between two borderlines at the top and bottom, represents a bull and a human-headed bird-fish, the latter turning its head backwards. The bull is depicted with a kneeling foreleg, advancing hind legs, and a long upraised tail which curves inwards. The hybrid creature has a bearded human head and a rounded headdress (polos), with long hair below it. The eye, moustache, lips, and nose are marked with densely arranged engravings. The body is seemingly divided into two parts: the bird-like upper body consists of a long, outstretched wing, a smaller wing protruding from the chest, and a long bird leg whose upper part appears over the body. The feathers on the wings, depicted with a framing edge above, and the leg, similar to that of a bird of prey, are equally detailed and well proportioned. The rear part of this creature takes the form of a fish whose scales are shaped with cross-lined surface lines, while the fishlike caudal has a naturalistic appearance due to its shape and its surface detailing shaped by parallel dense lines. In the sky, there is an eight-pointed star behind the bull's upraised tail, while a small deep engraving may designate a simplified crescent moon above the human-headed bird-fish.

The contour lines of the two figures here were shaped with deep engravings; moreover, all of the engravings used to form the details are very recognisable. Due to the sharp lines and characteristic surface patterning, the depicted scene is clearly visible on the cylinder seal.

Based on the bull's position and movement, it seems evident that its model is well known from the Neo-Assyrian iconography. In glyptic arts, there are several attestations of this kind of bull,[159] whose depiction in front of a rosette (*ayyaru*),[160] a common motif of the Neo-Assyrian art, presumably has an emblematical function. However, in the case of this particular bull, the template has been changed in order to place an abbreviated form on the scene. The lack of the foreleg[161] is attested on a seal from Tall Arbid,[162] while another one, said to have been acquired in Nineveh,[163] represents the same bull behind a human-headed bird-scorpion. Moreover, there is a cylinder seal from Assur[164] which depicts a human-headed bird-scorpion with its head turned backwards and a bull, although due to the damaged surface of the scene it is difficult to discern whether that bull too has had its foreleg omitted. Among similar-style seals, there is an item from Tepe Chenchi,[165] near Khorsabad, which depicts a bull and a human-headed bird-scorpion.

Another particularity of this linear-style seal image concerns the identification of the mythical creature which is identified here as a human-headed bird-fish based on its fishlike caudal and the scale pattern depicted on its rear part. This is important, since similar creatures are conventionally identified as human-headed birds, ignoring the aforementioned fish features.[166] Among the similar Neo-Assyrian linear-style seals, there are several scenes depicting the bull with a hybrid creature, and we can discern two types of hybrid beings based on the rear part of their bodies, mainly on their tails. One of them is identified as the human-headed bird-scorpion[167] while the other is depicted with human head, wings, and fishlike caudal.[168] The human-headed bird-scorpion consists of a combination of three different beings: human head; avian wings, rear body and legs; and scorpion tail. Since the hybrid creature in question differs from the human-headed bird-scorpion because of the caudal, we designate it a human-headed bird-fish instead of a human-headed bird. Comparing the bird tail to the fishlike caudal in the Neo-Assyrian iconography, we can conclude that the shape constitutes their main difference. The end of the bird tail terminates in a concave or straight line[169] while the caudal has a convex or heart-shaped final line.

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[159] See for example:
– ND 3227 (from Kalḫu) – Ash. 1954.741 (Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology): Parker 1955, 101: ND.3227 and pl. XIII: 3; Buchanan 1966, 108 no. 587 ("light yellow calcite", height: 23 mm, diameter: 11.5 mm) and pl. 39;
– Ash. 1921.950 (Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, from the Johns Collection): Buchanan 1966, 108 no. 588 ("dark green serpentine", height: 18 mm, diameter: 11.5 mm) and pl. 39.

[160] For the appearance of the rosette flower in Neo-Assyrian art, see Albenda 2005, 84–92.

[161] We don't assume that both forelegs were in a kneeling position and the leg closer to the viewer completely covered the other, since this rendering is uncharacteristic of the iconographical conventions. In this respect, it is interesting to note a cylinder seal which provides a bird-griffin with scorpion tail and a wild goat (or mouflon) depicted in the same position as the bull studied here except that both kneeling forelegs are indicated:
– formerly kept in the Erlenmeyer Collection; Bonhams (Knightsbridge, London) 22–04–1999, 138 and 147 no. 516 ("steatite", height: 21 mm, diameter: 9 mm).

[162] ARB'97 A29/19/40c-1 (from Tall Arbid): Koliński – Reiche 2008, 53 ("made of stone [?]") and 59 fig. 3.

[163] 6190 (Museo Profano, Musei Vaticani; acquired in Nineveh by R.P. Maximilian Ryllo, a Polish Jesuit before 1838): van Buren 1942, 364 fig. 8 and 365 no. 8 ("steatite", height: 24 mm, diameter: 11 mm).

[164] Ass 10479 (from Assur) – VA Ass 1690 (Vorderasiatisches Museum): Moortgat 1940, 144 no. 650 ("grauer Stein") and pl. 77 (height: 27.2 mm, diameter: 15.1 mm – studied directly in September 2013 by the author).

[165] TS 41 (from Tepe Chenchi, "on the surface of the mound") – A12448 (Oriental Institute Museum): Algaze 1989, 8–9 and pl. 4: b ("stone").

[166] For similar creatures, besides the aforementioned example (see footnote 162), on seal images:
– 1.2b 172 (Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, formerly kept in the Golenischev Collection, height: 18 mm, diameter: 10 mm): Schmidt 1930–33, no. 97; I am grateful to Nastia Tarasova, who sent me the museum number and the height of the cylinder seal;
– sealing: ND 2331 (from Kalḫu): Parker 1955, 121: ND.2331 (the cuneiform tablet is dated to 679 B.C.), fig. 20 and pl. XXVII: 5; Herbordt 1992, 195 no. Nimrūd 95 and pl. 9: 7;
– formerly kept in the Marcopoli Collection; Teissier 1984, 156–157 no. 185 ("serpentine", height: 19 mm, diameter: 10 mm); Christie's (New York) 14–06–1993, 184 no. 262 above;
– VR 1991.63 (Bibel+Orient Museum, Sammlung der Universität Fribourg; formerly kept in the Tabet Collection): Keel-Leu – Teissier 2004, 182–183 no. 187 ("schwarzer, beigebraunschwarzer Kalk", height: 21 mm, diameter: 11.5 mm) and 442 (pl.).

[167] Besides the aforementioned examples (see footnotes 163–165):
– 1.2b 253 (Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, formerly kept in the Golenischev Collection, height: 23 mm, diameter: 13 mm): Schmidt 1930–33, no. 96; I am grateful to Nastia Tarasova, who sent me the museum number and the height of the cylinder seal;
– 694 (Adana Arkeoloji Müzesi, acquired from art market in 1971): Tunca 1979, 21 no. 82 ("steatite", height: 23 mm, diameter: 13 mm) and pl. IX;

– M.6067 (National Museum of Aleppo): Hammade 1987, 112–113 no. 217 ("black flint", height: 24 mm, diameter: 13 mm);

– formerly kept in the Bailey Collection; Drouot (Paris) 16–12–1992, 16–17 no. 64 ("steatite noire", height: 26 mm, diameter: 12 mm).

Furthermore, an interesting example depicts a scorpion with a bull:

– private collection: Wagner – Boardman 2003, 128 no. 933 ("goethite", height: 19 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and pl. 135.

[168] As for the patterning of scales and the shaping of the fishlike caudal or tailfin on hybrid creatures:

–fish-man (*kulīlu*) or the so-called merman, depicted on a palace relief from Khorsabad (Botta – Flandin 1849–50, I, pl. 32);

– goat-fish (*šuḫurmāšu*) on **72**.

For the patterning of scales and the shaping of the caudal or tailfin on fish, see Sahrhage 1999, 55 fig. 22 and 63 fig. 28.

[169] See e.g. Botta – Flandin 1849–50, II, pls. 108–114 [lower register].

III.

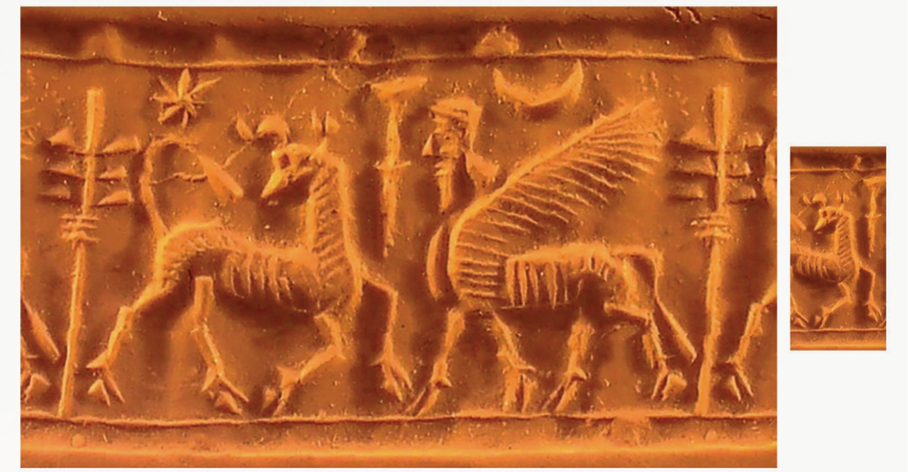
ANTITHETICAL SCENES: HYBRID CREATURES AND ANIMALS (19–29)

19

ANTITHETICAL SCENE

Bull and human-headed winged bull

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.675 (present location unknown)[170]
MATERIAL	"pierre bleue-noire"
DIMENSIONS	height: 23 mm, diameter: 12 mm (SPELEERS 1943, 123 no. 675), weight: unknown
CONDITION	There are faults above the upper borderline and another below the lower one. Furthermore, there is a small fault below the bull's muzzle, and a long scratch crosses the bull's horn and tail.
PROVENANCE	Acquired from the antiquarian I. Élias Géjou in Paris (said to be from "Susa"), 01–08–1923.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	SPELEERS 1943, 123 no. 675 (in this publication the negative was reproduced reversed).



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[170] This description is based on the seal impression, while the parameters of the cylinder seal come from SPELEERS 1943, 123 no. 675 and the museum archive.

This antithetical scene, depicted between two borderlines at the top and bottom, represents a bull and a human-headed winged bull (aladlammû) in prancing and walking positions respectively. The bull's body is oriented to the right and its head is turned backwards above its shoulder, while the human-headed winged bull is facing left in front of it. Behind the two figures, there is a stylised tree framing the scene. The upper half of its tall stem is decorated with six branches arranged horizontally in three pairs, and below there is a row of three horizontal lines. In the sky there is an eight-pointed star above the bull's tail and a crescent moon above the human-headed winged bull, while a wedge-shaped motif (double vertical cuneiform sign) is situated between them at the height of their heads.

The bull is represented in a particular prancing movement with its head and upraised tail both turned backwards. This dynamic posture and execution are well known from the hunting scenes in which the bull looks back toward the pursuer[171] while the human-headed winged bull depicted in leaping position with an upraised wing has a more static influence. There does not seem to be any connection between the selection and arrangement of the two figures chosen to fill this Neo-Assyrian scene. The bull's dynamic movement and the human-headed winged bull's static appearance are also emphasised by their surface lines, as oblique and curving lines dominate the body of the former while vertical and almost horizontal striations constitute the other figure. The movement of their legs and the position of their hooves are also differently shaped.

Apart from the difference between the two figures, the appearance and the manner of their execution characterise the typical Neo-Assyrian linear-style seals, to which our current seal belongs. This well-shaped, high-quality item is most likely the product of a central workshop and dates from the 9th to the first half of the 8th century B.C.[172] Although the human-headed winged bull (*aladlammû*) is portrayed in Neo-Assyrian linear-style hunting scenes,[173] this kind of hybrid creature represented in the same position is also well known from palace sculptures, where colossal versions of it were erected. This figure is similarly proportioned and detailed to some human-headed winged bull statues from Kalḫu, dated to the reign of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.).[174] Some of them also wear the rounded horned headdress, contrary to the later versions, which have the cylindrical, tall (usually feathered) horned headdress.

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[171] For a leaping bull that is similarly shaped regarding proportions and surface patterning, appearing in hunting scenes:
– Ass 9676 (from Assur) – VA Ass 1685 (Vorderasiatisches Museum): MOORTGAT 1940, 143 no. 642 ("schwarzer, glänzender Stein", height: 23 mm, diameter: 11 mm) and pl. 76;
– ND 2151 (from Kalḫu): PARKER 1955, 100: ND.2151 ("dark, red stone", height: 22 mm) and pl. XII: 3.

[172] For similar iconography but less detailed scenes, see the co-occurrence of leaping bull and walking human-headed winged bull:
– Ass 18902 (from Assur) – VA 7978 (Vorderasiatisches Museum): MOORTGAT 1940, 143 no. 647 ("Porphyr", height: 18 mm, diameter: 9 mm) and pl. 77;
– Morgan 632 (Morgan Library & Museum): PORADA 1948, 76 no. 632 ("black serpentine", height: 24 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and pl. XCI.

[173] For a cylinder seal with provenance:
– Ass 11190 ai (from Assur) – VA 4212 (Vorderasiatisches Museum): MOORTGAT 1940, 143 no. 639 ("Serpentine", height: 29 mm, diameter: 13 mm) and pl. 76; BOEHMER 1984, 253–254, 258–259 no. 3 and pl. 27: 3.

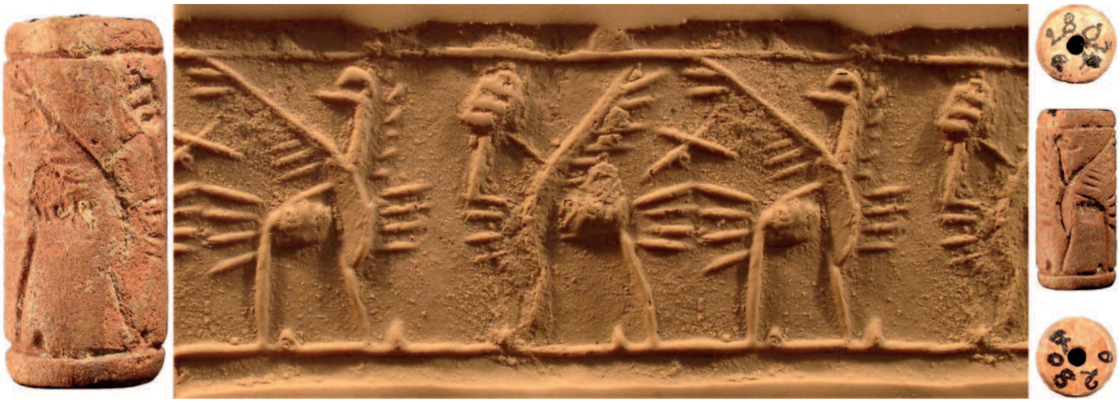
[174] PALEY – SOBOLEWSKI 1992, 42 and on the opposite page 52: nos. 19 (BM WA 118872 – 1850–12–28, 2) and 20 (MMA 32.143.1), pl. 7.1

20

ANTITHETICAL SCENE

Ostrich-like bird and human-headed bird

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2807
MATERIAL	pinkish sintered quartz (faience or composition)[175] with small traces of light brownish glaze
DIMENSIONS	height: 24.3 mm, diameter: 10.8 mm, weight: 3.27 g
CONDITION	There are small abrasions on the upper edge, and the surface is damaged alongside the body and front leg of the human-headed bird. A fault distorts the line border above the head of the ostrich-like bird.
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection, 11–10–1958.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.



This antithetical scene, depicted between top and bottom line borders, represents an ostrich-like bird whose body faces right but whose head is turned backwards and a human-headed bird which faces left. The ostrich-like bird[176] is depicted with a row of lines indicating the feathers along the neck, feathered tail, long legs, and a long, outstretched feathered wing, while the four parallel lines protruding from the chest indicate the other wing. The human-headed bird has a long beard and a rounded headdress (polos). Its body is similarly formed to that of the ostrich-like bird, but in the opposite direction. Their upraised wings and feathered tails, positioned at the same height, almost touch each other. In the middle of the two hybrid creatures, above their tails, there is an oblique cross which represents a simplified, four-pointed star.

Among the mass-produced sintered quartz cylinder seals, there are several specimens with and without provenance which depict the two aforementioned figures between the top and bottom line borders in the same position and manner as here, with similar details in almost every respect.[177] Another position in which the two creatures are depicted walking single file[178] as well as variation or omission of the filling motif(s) signify the main differences in these scenes.

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[175] For the material see Sax 2001, 28–29 no. I.6.2.16.

[176] For ostriches and their depictions, see Collon 1998.

21

Antithetical scene

Two ostrich-like birds

museum number	O.2765
material	whitish sintered quartz (faience or composition)[179] with traces of light brownish glaze
dimensions	height: 29.1 mm, diameter: 10.6 mm, weight: 4.12 g
condition	A small bit of damage appears above the wing of the bird facing left.
provenance	Formerly in the Moussa Collection (said to be from "Louristan"), 11–10–1958.
bibliography	Unpublished.

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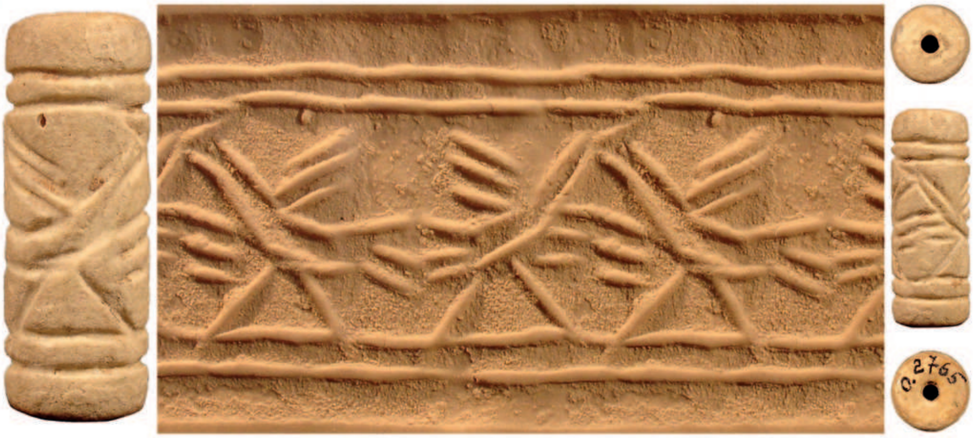
[177] The cylinder seals with provenance:
– e 1193 (from Alişar Hüyük): von der Osten 1937, 419 fig. 479, 420 and 423 no. e 1193 ("frit");
– BM WA 138128 – 1920–12–11, 434 (British Museum, from Tell Halaf): von Oppenheim – Hrouda 1962, 36 no. 47; Collon 2001, 57 no. 88 ("faience: now cream, probably originally glazed … the seal is likely to have been bright green", height: 24.5 mm, diameter: 19 mm) and pl. VII;
– ND 1992.108 (from Kalḫu) – IM 127647 (Iraq Museum): Hussein – Abdul-Razaq 1997/98, 169 fig. 3; Hussein – Altaweel – Gibson 2016, 49, 166 and pl. 192b;
– SH97/6951/0033 (Deir ez-Zor Museum, from Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad): Fügert 2015, 145 no. 156 ("Quarzkeramik, weißlich-gelb" no trace of glaze, height: 23 mm, diameter: 10 mm);
– SH88/8979/0103 (Deir ez-Zor Museum, from Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad): Fügert 2015, 147 no. 158 ("Quarzkeramik / weißlich-gelb" with a trace of brownish glaze, height: 12+ mm, diameter: 8 mm);
– ND 88 89 (PV 54) (from Kalḫu): Collon 2015, 87–89 no. ND 88 89 (PV 54) ("cream faience", height: 24 mm, diameter: 8.5 mm).
For (a non-comprehensive list of) the cylinder seals whose provenance is unknown:
– Sissa Collection: van Buren 1959, 26 no. 111 ("frit", height: 26 mm, diameter: 16 mm) and pl. VIII;
– Ash. 1920.36 (Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology; bought in Aleppo by C.L. Woolley): Buchanan 1966, 112 no. 620 ("green-glazed composition", height: 24 mm, diameter: 9 mm) and pl. 41;
– 754 (Adana Arkeoloji Müzesi, acquired from art market in 1971): Tunca 1979, 21 no. 83 ("faïence blanche", height: 25 mm, diameter: 10 mm) and pl. IX;
– Anavian Collection: Volk 1979, no. 195 ("blue-green faience", height: 24 mm, diameter: 10 mm);
– Anavian Collection: Volk 1979, no. 196 ("beige faience with remains of green glaze", height: 26 mm, diameter: 10 mm).

[178] Among those seals with provenance (without being comprehensive):
– 1193/e (from Boğazköy, "Oberflächenfund"): Beran 1964, 30–31, 37 no. 3 ("Fritte", height: 26.5 mm, diameter: 10 mm) and pl. 6: 3;
– G II D7 (pithos sherd with seal impression) from Tepe Guran (Luristan): Thrane 2001, 87–88 fig. 74 (with the mention of further examples);
– Ass 14360 (from Assur) – VA Ass 1619 (Vorderasiatisches Museum): Klengel-Brandt 2014, 12 no. 47 ("Quarzkeramik", height: 26 mm, diameter: 10 mm) and pl. 12: 47a–b. Contrary to the presented drawing, which depicts a bearded human head (Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 12: 47b), the bird head with its crest and well-known avian features characterising similar ostrich-like birds are clearly visible on the photo (Klengel-Brandt 2014, pl. 12: 47a);
– NMI 13149 (National Museum of Iran, "from the Motamedi's excavations carried out in 1977 and 1978 at Ziwiye"): Ascalone – Baseri 2014 [2016], 36–37 fig. 6.

[179] For the material see Sax 2001, 28–29 no. I.6.2.16.



This antithetical scene, depicted between two double lines which border it at the top and bottom, represents two ostrich-like birds turning towards each other. The contours of their bodies and their necks are marked with two almost parallel lines. The beak of the bird facing right is indicated by a single line, while the prolongation of the lower line forming the neck of the other constitutes its beak. Their legs form an inverted V-shape, and each of them has a long outstretched wing depicted above its body, while the second, smaller wing protrudes from the chest. Their schematised, feathered wings are indicated with three nearly parallel oblique lines, while their feathered tails are shaped with three slightly divergent lines.

Although the necks of the two birds, shaped by two parallel lines, seem to be thick compared to the longer neck characterising the ostrich and ostrich-like birds depicted on sintered quartz seals,[180] their highly stylised bodies, legs, and wings attest those features. Moreover, among the sintered quartz seals, the two birds depicted turning towards each other or walking in single file are always ostriches or ostrich-like birds. Among the similar-style sintered quartz seals with provenance,[181] the antithetical arrangement of similar birds, between double borderlines, is attested on a cylinder seal from Sultantepe,[182] on which a double line forms the neck of each bird. Contrary to these highly stylised depictions, there is a detailed seal image from a tomb near Sanandaj, Iranian Kurdistan,[183] which naturalistically depicts two ostriches walking single file with outstretched wings. It is interesting to note that their heads are depicted without a crest.

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[180] On this seal image, depicting two ostrich-like birds walking single file, their necks are also shaped by a double line:
– BM WA 139986 – 1856–9–3, 91 (British Museum, from Sherif-Khan): Collon 2001, 57–58 no. 92 (“faience: now cream and dark grey with minute traces of turquoise-blue glaze surviving”, height: 28 mm, diameter: 13.5 mm) and pl. VII.

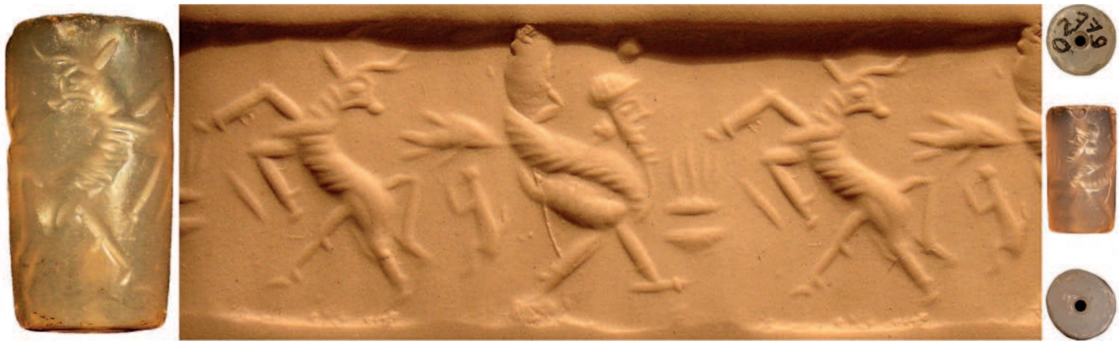
[181] For cylinder seals with provenance:
– Ass 18574 b (from Assur) – VA 5361 (Vorderasiatisches Museum): Moortgat 1940, 148 no. 714 (“gelbe Fritte”, height: 22 mm, diameter: 10 mm) and pl. 84; Klengel-Brandt 2014, 83 no. 269 and pl. 50;
– Ass 8779 b (from Assur) – VA Ass 1599 (Vorderasiatisches Museum): Moortgat 1940, 149 no. 715 (“hellgelbe Fritte”, height: 23 mm, diameter: 10 mm) and pl. 84; Klengel-Brandt 2014, 83 no. 270 and pl. 51;
– Ass 10441 (from Assur) – VA Ass 1603 (Vorderasiatisches Museum): Moortgat 1940, 149 no. 716 (“gelbe Fritte”, height: 19 mm, diameter: 8 mm) and pl. 84; Klengel-Brandt 2014, 83 no. 272 and pl. 51;
– VA 12849 (Vorderasiatisches Museum, from Tell Halaf): Moortgat 1940, 149 no. 719 (“gelbe Fritte”, height: 16 mm, diameter: 9 mm) and pl. 84; von Oppenheim – Hrouda 1962, 31, 36 no. 45 and pl. 26: 45;
– 365 (Wellcome Institute, from Tall Duwair): Parker 1949, 6 no. 4 (“faience”) and pl. I;
– DS 580 (Oriental Institute Museum, from Khorsabad): Loud – Altman 1938, 98 no. 94 (“paste”) and pl. 58: 94;
– Ass 15674 (from Assur) – VA Ass 1622 (Vorderasiatisches Museum): Klengel-Brandt 2014, 12 no. 49 (“Quarzkeramik, gelblich”, height: 22 mm, diameter: 7 mm) and pl. 13: 49a–b.
For the cylinder seals with provenance, which depict two ostriches or ostrich-like birds walking in file:
– Ass 21328 (from Assur) – VA 7984 (Vorderasiatisches Museum): Moortgat 1940, 149 no. 717 (“gelbe Fritte”, height: 25 mm, diameter: 10 mm) and pl. 84; Klengel-Brandt 2014, 83 no. 271 and pl. 51;
– VA 12848 (Vorderasiatisches Museum, from Tell Halaf): Moortgat 1940, 149 no. 718 (“gelbe Fritte”, height: 24 mm, diameter: 9 mm) and pl. 84; von Oppenheim – Hrouda 1962, 31, 36 no. 44 and pl. 26;
– ND 1686 (from Kalḫu): Parker 1955, 104: ND.1686 (“faience”, height: 20 mm) and pl. XV: 4;

22

Antithetical scene

Human-headed bird-scorpion and bull

museum number	O.2779
material	
dimensions	height: 16.6 mm, diameter: 9.3 mm (the upper diameter of the object is circa 1.5 mm larger than the lower diameter), weight: 2.58 g
condition	The upper and lower edges are slightly chipped. On the field, an abrasion runs from the human-headed bird-scorpion's tail to its hind leg, there is a large chip above its tail, and another chip distorts the talon of one of its hind legs.
provenance	Formerly in the Moussa Collection, 11–10–1958.
bibliography	Unpublished.



This antithetical scene represents a human-headed bird-scorpion and a rampant bull twisting its head back over its shoulder. The hybrid creature is depicted with a bearded head, a long wing which covers the middle section of the scorpion tail, and legs terminating in talons. The bull has a single ear and horn, an exaggerated, outlined eye, and fur indicated with a row of lines on the neck and alongside the belly. The

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– V654 (from Kish) – Ash. 1929.253 (Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology): Buchanan 1966, 113 no. 623 ("reddish composition", height: 23 mm, diameter: 9 mm) and pl. 41;
– Sor 1353 (from Surkh Dum-i-Luri) – MIB-722 (Muze-ye Iran Bastan): van Loon 1989A, 416 no. 51, 457 no. 233:51 ("faience", height: 22 mm, diameter: 10 mm) and pl. 233;
– A102-14 (grave nr.), WK 66/190 (inv. nr.) (from War Kabud): Haerinck – Overlaet 2004, 78 ("probably shows facing winged sphinxes"), 79 fig. 38: A102-14 ("frit or faience", height: 22 mm, diameter: 10 mm), pls. 42: 12 and 151: A102-14;
– SH 06/6153/0140 (Deir ez-Zor Museum, from Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad): Fügert 2015, 149 no. 160 ("Quarzkeramik, weißlich", height: 23 mm, diameter: 9 mm);
– SH 04/6151/0603 (Deir ez-Zor Museum, from Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad): Fügert 2015, 150 no. 161 ("Quarzkeramik, Kern weißlich, Selbstglasur grau-bräunlich", height: 23 mm, diameter: 11 mm).

[182] Sultantepe: Lloyd 1954, 108 fig. 8: 2 and 110 no. 8: 2 ("limestone"$^{\text{sic}}$, height: 22 mm, diameter: 9 mm).

[183] "Zagros graveyard" near Sanandaj (from the tomb A12): Amelirad – Overlaet – Haerinck 2012, 55 no. 5 ("faience") and 81: pl. 22: 5.

articulation of the knees and the hooves is marked by strokes. Between the two figures, there is an unfinished brazier, and behind them, a fish facing right is depicted above a sitting monkey turning left.

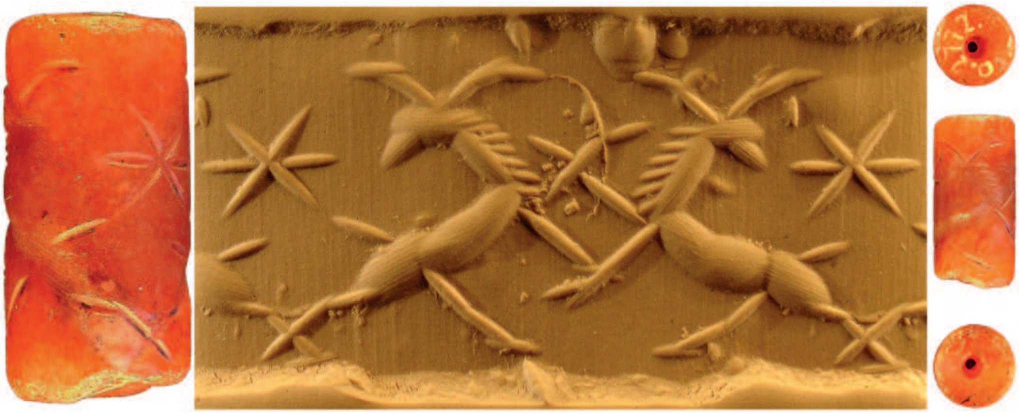
This relatively small cylinder seal presents an eclectic view of the chosen figures and motifs, which complicates the identification of the reasoning behind the scene. This combination of figures and motifs may reflect either the common practice of the workshop or the personal choice of the seal-bearer. Despite the small size of the scene, the patterning of the two main figures, such as the face and the feathers of the human-headed bird-scorpion or the fur and the hooves of the bull, is executed according to iconographical conventions, as is the small sitting monkey.[184] However, the oblique line placed incorrectly below the lowered foreleg of the bull and the unfinished brazier, depicted without stand, attest to the relative incompetence of the seal-cutter(s). The iconography of this image displays the common characteristics of cut-style seals dated to the Neo-Babylonian and early Achaemenid periods.

23

ANTITHETICAL SCENE

Two wild goats (or mouflons)

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2772
MATERIAL	"pierre rose translucide"
DIMENSIONS	height: 22.6 mm, diameter: 10.9 mm, weight: 4.82 g
CONDITION	The upper edge is chipped, while almost two-thirds of the lower edge is broken off, then polished; furthermore, there is a semi-circular abrasion from the cross of the upper forelegs to the horn of the wild goat on the left.
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection, 11–10–1958.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.



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[184] The monkey's body position and raised arm in front of its muzzle reveal that its model was a sitting monkey playing a flute. For a more detailed depiction of a monkey playing a flute, see for example:
– Del. 382 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, formerly kept in the Lajard Collection, acquired in 1844): Delaporte 1910, 213–214 no. 382 ("calcédoine laiteuse", height: 34 mm, diameter: 18 mm) and pl. XXV.

This antithetical scene represents two rampant wild goats (or mouflons)[185] *whose heads are turned backwards. The design is characterised by the boldly shaped, deeply engraved silhouette which constitutes the head, neck, and body of the wild goats. The row of strokes marks the fur along their necks*[186] *while their horns, tails, and legs are marked by simple lines. The curvature of the horns and the articulation of the hind legs are indicated with two lines whose endpoints connect at a slight angle. The hooves are indicated with short lines on the legs, while the forward hind legs of the wild goats are slightly raised up. In the background there is a six-pointed star depicted between the wild goats' heads, which are looking at each other above the shoulder.*

The main feature of this antithetical composition is the crossing of the extended rearmost legs of the rampant wild goats, while their forelegs turned forwards form a rhomboid shape. In carving the scene, these oblique lines could have helped the placement of the composition. Beside the boldly shaped silhouette of the wild goats' body, it is evident that these diagonal lines constitute a simplified technology, yet it seems to create a frieze-like effect and give vivacity to the cut-style scene.

Besides this antithetical composition, the rampant wild goat is a well-known figure which can be attested on several contemporary seal images, such as hunting scenes,[187] pursuing scenes,[188] animal processions,[189] and ritual scenes,[190] whose principal motif is the stylised tree.

24

Antithetical scene

Two wild goats (or mouflons)

museum number	O.2774
material	"pierre translucide, gris et brune"
dimensions	height: 21.7 mm, diameter: 10.8 mm, weight: 4.53 g
condition	There are faults below the belly and above the tail of the wild goat whose head is turned facing right, while another one is at the crossing of the wild goats' lowered forelegs.
provenance	Formerly in the Moussa Collection (said to be from the region situated "entre l'Élam et Persépolis"), 11–10–1958.
bibliography	Unpublished.

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[185] The wild goat and sheep are also attested in the current glyptics literature about these animals, whose fur is indicated on the neck, contrary to the antelope depictions.

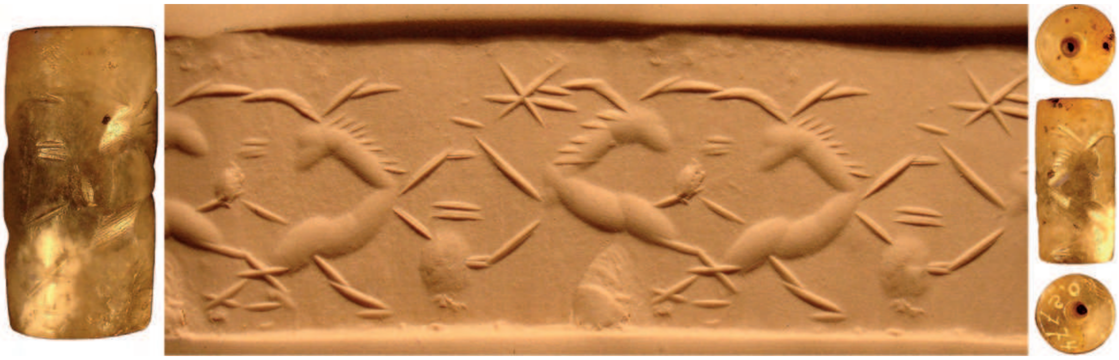
[186] The beard of the animals is not indicated.

[187] E.g. CBS 5036 (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, acquired in Baghdad in 1890): Legrain 1925, 301 no. 577 ("chalcedony", height: 25.5 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and pl. XXX.

[188] E.g. Sotheby's (London) 10 and 11–12–1992, 44 no. 95 ("chalcedony", height: 30 mm, diameter: 11 mm).

[189] E.g. VA 3272 (Vorderasiatisches Museum): Moortgat 1940, 143 no. 635 ("Karneol", height: 14, diameter: 5.5 mm) and pl. 75.

[190] E.g. VA 3235 (Vorderasiatisches Museum): Moortgat 1940, 142 no. 633 ("Chalcedon", height: 22 mm, diameter: 11 mm) and pl. 75.



*This antithetical scene represents two rampant wild goats (or mouflons) and is similar to the previous seal image (***23***) regarding the execution and the arrangement of the figures. However, comparing the two scenes, there are a few differences related to the filling motifs.*

In the background of the present scene, a six-pointed star is depicted behind the wild goats' heads, near the figure whose head is turned right. The six-pointed star has a secondary small line, which seems to be an incorrectly placed ray above the right-side horizontal ray. Another, slightly oblique line seems to be the hoof of the upraised foreleg of the wild goat whose head is turned facing right. Moreover, between the heads of the wild goats, there are three short, nearly horizontal lines. Alongside these unexplained details, two closely spaced parallel lines are situated at the centre of the stretched forelegs, and an oval-shaped hollow is below them; the meaning of these details can be explained with reference to two seal images which seem to show a more complex version of them. First, on the lower part of the field (under the lowered forelegs of the wild goats) on a cylinder seal kept in the Aleppo Museum the parallel short lines are depicted above an oval-shaped vessel;[191] and a most elaborate version of this motif is depicted in the same position on the cylinder seal belonging to the Anavian Collection,[192] where the parallel lines are prolonged to constitute a form that undulates in two opposite directions and terminates at the lower edge under the raised hind legs of the wild goats. This is the well-known motif of the so-called *aryballos*, with the flowing water which emerges in two directions from the vessel.[193] It is possible that a simplified version is depicted on the Aleppo seal and that this motif was copied without the original meaning and incorrectly placed in the form of the two short parallel lines in between the outstretched forelegs of the rampant wild goats in the present scene. We can suppose that this cut-style scene belonging to the antithetical group of rampant wild goats can be retraced to an unknown model, but is already an altered or abbreviated version of it.[194]

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[191] M.4548 (National Museum of Aleppo, acquired in 1960): Hammade 1987, 128–129 no. 247 ("carnelian", height: 21 mm, diameter: 10 mm).

[192] Anavian Collection: Volk 1979, no. 220 ("white chalcedony", height: 25 mm, diameter: 12 mm). According to J.G. Volk's interpretation, the motif in question is a "double serpentine line representing mountain".

[193] For a well-shaped version of the *aryballos* with the flowing water on a cylinder seal, with provenance:
– W 21937 (Iraq Museum, from Uruk): Lenzen 1974, 35: W 21937 and pl. 23: f.

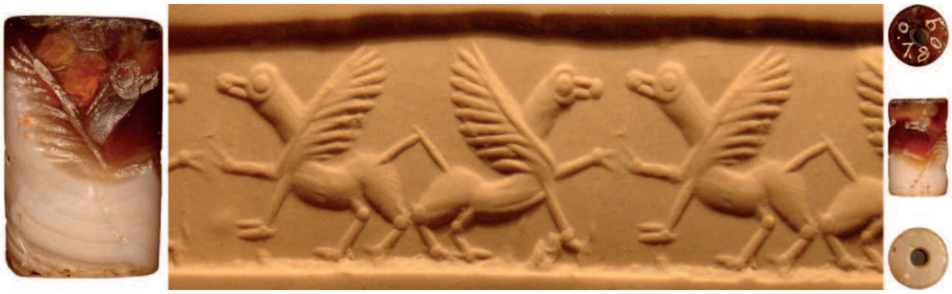
[194] For this theme, it is interesting to note a Classic Syrian cylinder seal:
– Chiha Collection: Doumet 1992, 133 no. 274 ("serpentine noir", height: 24 mm, diameter: 13.5 mm).

25

Antithetical scene

Two bird-griffins

museum number	O.1809
material	
dimensions	height: 13.0 mm, diameter: 8.1 mm, weight: 1.51 g
condition	The upper and lower edges are slightly chipped, and there is a fault below the lowered forepaw of the bird-griffin facing right.
provenance	Acquired from the antiquarian Edgar Beer (Brussels), 09–03–1950.
bibliography	Unpublished.



This antithetical scene represents two bird-griffins, portrayed in rampant posture, facing each other. They are similarly formed, with silhouette-shaped necks and bodies and diagonal lines constituting the legs, tails, and feathers of the wings. Each is depicted with the outer forepaw raised at the same height and the inner foreleg positioned a little higher than the hind legs. The tail is shaped by straight engravings, similar to the feathers. Little drill-holes designate the end of the beak and the articulation on their legs. Like the beaks, the paws of the forelegs are shaped by double engravings. They have centre-dot circle eyes.

Regarding the arrangement of the figures, it is important to note the disposition of their extended hindmost legs, which touch each other, and the ends of their tails, which cross slightly above them. This formation creates a continuous effect on a very limited field, particularly in height. The main feature of the two hybrid creatures is the centre-dot circle eyes, which allow us to connect the present seal to a well-established group of cut-style seals classified by B. Wittmann (1992)[195] and D. Collon (2001),[196] who presented the main criteria characterising these seals as follows: the use of hard stones worked with cutting-wheel and drill, while "some of the simpler designs are based on diagonal and horizontal lines which may well have been filed rather than wheel-cut" (Collon 2001, 49), the dynamic (movement-evoking) design of the figures, the omission of line borders, and, finally, the relatively small dimensions of the seal images. Those that have provenance of this cut-style cylinder seal group come from Ur, Uruk, and Girsu (Tello), making it evident that they can be localised to the sphere of southern Mesopotamia. Based on the items with provenance and their main particularities, D. Collon classified the seals according to four groups (Groups A–D) and identified them respectively as produced by craftsmen A–B and workshops C–D. Comparing them with the example presented here, we find that both this example and the cylinder seal from Girsu (fig. 2)[197] which belongs to Group B, share several features, such as the deeply engraved body silhouettes of the figures with stubby legs, and centre-dot circle eyes constituting most of the head, each terminating in a drill-hole designating the beak or muzzle. The depiction on the Girsu seal is arranged in two equal registers with heights similar to the present example.

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[195] Wittmann 1992, 218–220, 271–272 nos. 122–137 and pl. 33: 122–137 (excluding no. 126).

[196] Collon 2001, 49–50: IV.1.

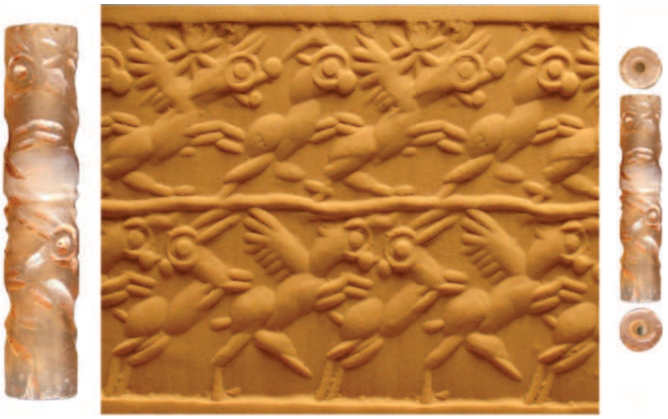

Fig. 2: MNB 1353 cylinder seal ("agate rubanée", height: 26.8 mm, diameter: 5.3 mm) and its modern impression (see footnote 197).

Besides the examples collected by D. Collon,[198] taking into account her aforementioned criteria, the following seals attest similar characteristics, and some of them can be classified into one of these groups (Table 3).

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[197] MNB 1353 (Musée du Louvre, from Girsu): de Sarzec – Heuzey 1884–1912, vol. I: 320–321 and pl. 30bis: 22; Delaporte 1920, 26 no. T. 241 ("agate rubanée", height: 26.8 mm, diameter: 5.3 mm – studied directly in March 2019 by the author) and pl. 6: 28.

[198] See footnotes 195 and 196.

Table 3: Three groups of Neo-Babylonian seals characterised by the centre-dot circle eye.

	GROUP	**MUSEUM NO.**	**ORIGIN**	**MATERIAL**	**DIMENSIONS** (mm)
1[199]	A	Morgan 742	unprovenanced	"carnelian"	ht: 23, diam: 11
2[200]	*ibid.*	VR 1981.125	*ibid.*	"Chalzedon"	ht: 20.5, diam: 10.5
3[201]	*ibid.*	573'65	*ibid.*	"chalcedony"	ht: 19, diam: 9
4[202]	*ibid.*	9-1953	*ibid.*	"chalcedony"	ht: 19, diam: 8
5[203]	*ibid.*	NCBS 436	*ibid.*	"mottled calcite"	ht: 24, diam: 11
6[204]	*ibid.*	9-1952	*ibid.*	"chalcedony"	ht: 23, diam: 12
7[205]	*ibid.*	unknown	Saudi Arabia	unknown	unknown
8[206]	*ibid.*	art market	unprovenanced	"hellbraun Quartz"	ht: 25.5, diam: 11.1
9[207]	*ibid.*	art market	*ibid.*	"jaspe rouge"	ht: 25, diam: 10
10[208]	A or B	AO 2613	*ibid.*	"calcédoine"	ht: 27, diam: 11
11[209]	*ibid.*	FUB 121	*ibid.*	"Bergkristall"	ht: 19, diam: 8
12[210]	B	Brett Coll.	*ibid.*	"rock crystal"	ht: 20, diam: 10
13[211]	*ibid.*	77376	*ibid.*	"calcedonia-corniola"	ht: 26.5, diam: 10
14[212]	*ibid.*	148437 MNW	*ibid.*	"Hämatit"	ht: 20, diam: 10
15[213]	*ibid.*	art market	*ibid.*	"color rosso opaco"	ht: 28, diam: 17
16[214]	*ibid.*	art market	*ibid.*	"cornaline"	ht: 23, diam: 9

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[199] Morgan 742 (Morgan Library & Museum): PORADA 1948, 90 no. 742 and pl. CXI.

[200] VR 1981.125 (Bibel+Orient Museum, Sammlung der Universität Fribourg): KEEL-LEU – TEISSIER 2004, 146 no. 151 ("orangen durchscheinender Quarz, Chalzedon", diameter: 10.5–8.6 mm) and 437 (pl.).

[201] 573'65 (City Museum & Art Gallery, Birmingham): LAMBERT 1966, 78 no. 62 and pl. XX.

[202] 9-1953 (Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, formerly the Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley): TOMABECHI 1984, 48 no. 133 and pl. XIII: plate 92a, b. The scene is depicted between two borderlines, at the top and bottom.

[203] NCBS 436 (Yale Babylonian Collection, formerly kept in the Newell Collection): VON DER OSTEN 1934, 64 no. 436 and pl. XXIX.

[204] 9-1952 (Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, formerly the Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley): TOMABECHI 1984, 48 no. 134 and pl. XIII: pl. 93.

[205] "Saudi Arabia – Salt Mine Site": LOMBARD 1988, 126 fig. 8 and 127; POTTS 2010, 33 no. 86 (fig. 12) and 36.

[206] Art market: BLEIBTREU 1981, 81 no. 97.

[207] Drouot (Paris) 25 and 26–06–1962, no. 219.

[208] AO 2613 (Musée du Louvre): DELAPORTE 1923, 167: A. 694 ("calcédoine blonde et laiteuse") and pl. 89: 2.

[209] FUB 121 (Freie Universität Berlin, Institut für Vorderasiatische Altertumskunde, formerly kept in the Oppenländer Collection): MOORTGAT-CORRENS 1968, 278 no. 125 and pl. 49.

[210] Brett Collection: VON DER OSTEN 1936, 18 no. 124 and pl. XI.

[211] 77376 (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, acquired by A.B. Dazzi in Egypt in 1897): DELAPORTE 1927, 61 no. 22 ("basalte vert") and pl. VIII; FELLI 2013, 338–339 no. 33 and 388: 33 (pl.).

[212] MNW 148437 (Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie): REICHE 2011, 326 fig. 15.

[213] Art market: PECORELLA 1980, 330–331 no. 5 and pl. III. The scene is depicted between two borderlines, at the top and bottom.

[214] Drouot (Paris) 25 and 26–06–1962, no. 222.

	GROUP	MUSEUM NO.	ORIGIN	MATERIAL	DIMENSIONS (mm)
17[215]	*ibid.*	YBC 12601	*ibid.*	unknown	ht: 14.7, diam: 7.8
18[216]	B or C	Sb 6113 (E 671)	Susa	“cornaline”	ht: 19, diam: 9
19[217]	C	KHM ÄgS Sem. 1136	unprovenanced	“gelbgrau Chalzedon”	ht: 22.4, diam: 11.8
20[218]	?	Morgan 746	*ibid.*	“white chalcedony”	ht: 26, diam: 11

In addition to these, distinctive features such as the centre-dot circle eye, the use of drill-holes, and the filed or wheel-cut lines as well as the dynamic movement of the figures that characterises the examples collected in Group A are attested on an unpublished cylinder seal,[219] kept in the Walters Art Museum, though the main figure of this contest scene is a winged hero. Regarding the details of the seal image, it is worth mentioning the bottom of this figure and the centre of the eight-pointed star on it are both shaped by a centre-dot circle, the same element that constitutes the centre-dot circle eyes. Another unpublished cylinder seal (fig. 3, Table 3: 17), kept in the Yale Babylonian Collection, belongs to Group B based on the postures of the figures and the detailing.

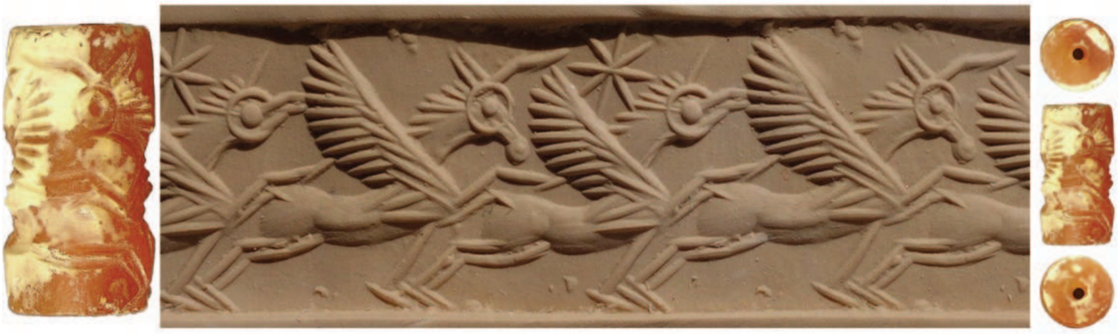

Fig. 3: YBC 12601 cylinder seal (height: 14.7 mm, diameter: 7.8 mm) and its modern impression, unpublished (see Table 3: 17).

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[215] See fig. 3.

[216] Sb 6113 (E 671) (Musée du Louvre): Mecquenem 1922, 168 (fig.) and 171 no. 18; Amiet 1972, 274, 280 no. 2169 and pl. 187.

[217] KHM ÄgS Sem. 1136 (ex VKM 25399) (Kunsthistorisches Museum): Bleibtreu 1981, 81 no. 98.

[218] Morgan 746 (Morgan Library & Museum): Porada 1948, 90 no. 746 and pl. CXI.

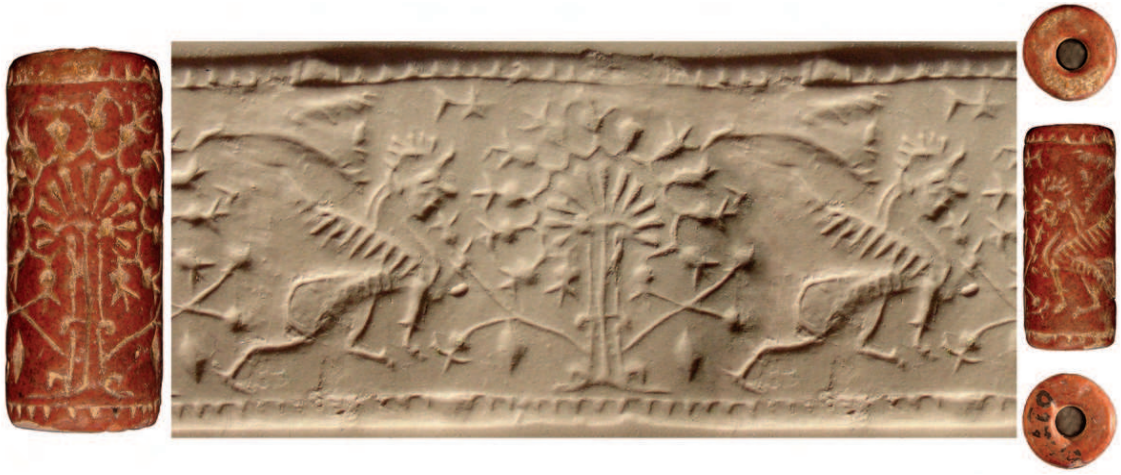
[219] WAG 42.654 (The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore; acquired by Sadie Jones [Mrs. Henry Walters] from Joseph Brummer, New York, in 1941; “chalcedony with gold spike”, diameter: 10 mm): http://art.thewalters.org/detail/25130/cylinder-seal-with-frolicking-animals/ (accessed 20–09–2018).

26

ANTITHETICAL SCENE

Stylised tree between a human-headed winged lion and a bird

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2770	Plate 17.
MATERIAL	"brown stone"	
DIMENSIONS	height: 29.8 mm, diameter: 12.6 mm, weight: 8.36 g	
CONDITION	The uppermost part of the stylised tree, the bird, and both rows of triangles framing the scene are slightly damaged.	
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection (said to be from the region of "Louristan"), 11–10–1958.	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	COLLON 2005^{2} [first published in 1987], 84–85 no. 383.	



This antithetical scene is depicted between two borders which frame it at the top and bottom respectively. Each border consists of an engraved line and a row of little triangles oriented with one side flat against the borderline, with their points directed towards the upper and lower edges of the cylinder seal respectively. These framing bands create a geometric effect and recall imitations of the gold mounts decorated by rows of triangles to which the cylinder seals were attached.[220] *At the end of the second millennium B.C., the engraved versions of the row of triangles became smaller and less detailed, finally without indication of the gold granulates which originally decorated the triangles on the gold mounts.*[221] *This scene depicts a stylised tree – which dominates more than half of the scene – and a leaping human-headed winged lion with a flying bird above. The stylised tree is worth describing because of its particular detailing and perfect*

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[220] For this technology, see MOOREY 1994, 230–231: (5).

[221] D. Collon presents a group of cylinder seals, "characterized by notched borders around their ends. These notches from small pendent triangles either on the inside or the outside of the line borders; …" (COLLON 2001, 35); she argues for their North Syrian origin and adds that these border patterns are "possibly a much-reduced version of those on Kassite and Isin II seals" (COLLON 2005^{2} [first published in 1987], 83: c). On the other side, worth noting is the appearance of the hatched-triangle border on cylinder seals from (e.g.) Hasanlu (MARCUS 1996, 143 esp.). For the earlier and larger imitations of gold mounts, decorated by rows of triangles, on the Isin II seals, see MATTHEWS 1990, 64–66: 3.4 The Third Kassite style; PORADA (†) – COLLON 2016, 59–60: V.

shaping. It consists of a long stem and circular foliage. There is no sharp division between them, since the stem terminates at the centre of the foliage, which consists of an inner palmette with eleven petals encircled by a chain of pomegranates (six pomegranates on each side). On the uppermost element of this chain is the bird, facing left. The stem formed by three vertical lines stands on a slightly upward curving line, it is bisected by a horizontal line, and its top ends in another, similarly executed horizontal line. These lines terminate on both sides of the trunk in simplified volutes. From the lower half of each side of the stem, one emerging branch splits into two, terminating in single pomegranates. Just below the branching on each side, there is a rhomboid motif. The human-headed winged lion on the left side of the tree grasps the branch with its left foreleg and its pomegranate points towards its head. In the field above the human-headed winged lion there is a flying bird facing left; behind the bird is the NU cuneiform sign one of whose meanings is ṣalmu(m) ("image").

Besides the light engravings and fine details, also remarkable is the high-quality iconography of this linear-style seal. The disposition of the human-headed winged lion perfectly fits the available field, while the body position with the raised legs gives rise to a dynamic effect next to the stylised tree. The orientation of the leaping creature and the flying bird provides another particularity of this antithetical scene, since they are oriented towards the stylised tree from opposite directions and are arranged one below the other. Alongside their inverse, dynamic postures, the stylised tree produces a static effect with its perfect symmetry. The essence of this structural composition is the choice of a central emblem, and the framing and movement of figures towards it provide the *raison d'être* of the antithetical scenes.

The combination of a stylised tree with a winged creature and bird(s) is known from the Middle Assyrian and Kassite glyptics. The stylised tree here may be reminiscent of the garland-tree, "usually with striated leaves and volutes" of which "the leaves form an independent garland around the inner tree" (Matthews 1990, 64), which is attested among the Middle Assyrian and Third Kassite seals.[222] A fragmentary Kassite sealing from Nippur allows us to recognise one predecessor and a more detailed version of the seal image presented in this entry.[223] On this sealing, the scene, framed from above by a row of triangles with an elaborate horizontal band, depicts a flying bird facing right towards a stylised plant with a small bird on one branch. Below the flying bird, the upper part of a large pair of wings appears to belong to a creature facing left (inverse direction compared to the flying bird). Another, also fragmentary, inscribed seal impression, known from Tall Masaïkh,[224] depicts a stylised tree between two bearded human-headed winged lions. Although only the upper half of the scene is visible, we can discern a crescent moon, the cuneiform signs around the figures, and a small bird perching on one of the upper branches of the stylised tree. As for the stylised tree with the human-headed winged lion depicted in leaping position, the cylinder seal kept in the Adana Arkeoloji Müzesi[225] provides a less detailed but close parallel to our seal image; on this linear-style image a crescent moon appears above a human-headed winged lion. Regarding the date of the seal, we can conclude that as similar-shaped stylised trees with animals in leaping position are depicted on Middle Assyrian and Third Kassite or Isin II seals as well as linear-style seals from the early first millennium B.C., the present linear-style seal can be dated to the late second or early first millennium B.C.

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[222] See for example:
– De Clercq – Menant 1888, 248 no. 342 *bis* ("marbre brun et rouge", height: 35 mm, diameter: 35$^{\text{sic}}$ mm) and pl. XXXIX; Matthews 1990, 105 no. 414 (Middle Assyrian);
– sealing Ass 14327 and Ass 17822 – VAT 8926 and VAT 8714 (Vorderasiatisches Museum; from Assur): Moortgat 1942, 58 no. 11 (dated to the eponym Aššur-zēr-iddina): Matthews 1990, 105 footnote 192 no. 424 (dated to the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I [1243–1207 B.C.] and later);
– VA 3903 (Vorderasiatisches Museum, from art market): Moortgat 1940, 136 no. 560 ("Kupfererz", height: 73 mm, diameter: 17 mm) and pl. 67; Matthews 1990, 64–65 no. 211 (Third Kassite style);
– BM WA 102535 – 1908–4–11, 43 (British Museum, acquired from J.E. Géjou): Matthews 1990, 92 no. 335 (dated to the reign of Shalmaneser I [1273–1244 B.C.]); Porada (†) – Collon 2016, 124 no. MA 1 ("quartz, jasper: yellow-brown, black dendritic inclusions", height: 28.1 mm, diameter: 14 mm) and 210: pl. 22.
For the development of similar stylised trees, see Calmeyer 1973, 194–196: 9 and Tabelle 1.

[223] Sealing on CBM 3135 (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology; from Nippur): Porada 1952, pl. XXIX: 3; Matthews 1990, 61 and 92 no. 163 ("Second Kassite style"); Matthews 1992, 121–122 no. 161.

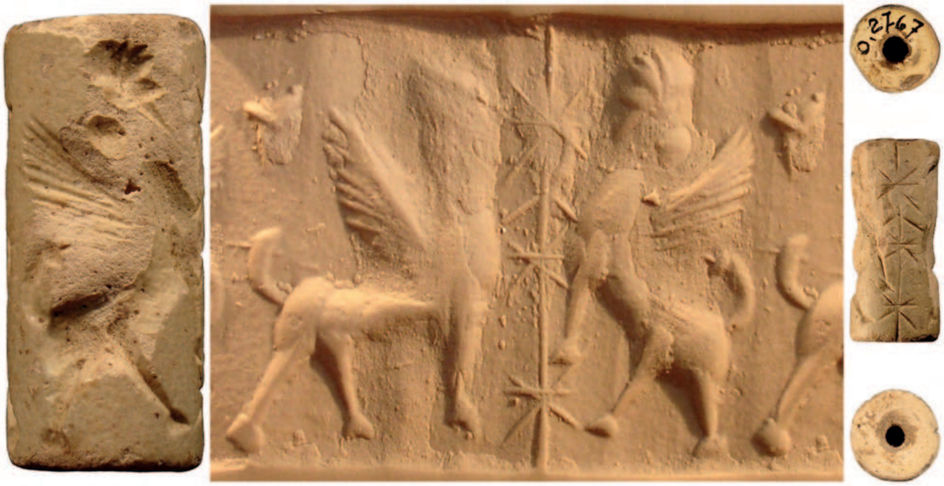
[224] MK12 311 (from Tall Masaïkh): Poli 2015, 291–294 figs. 2 and 3. According to P. Poli, the fragmentary seal depicts a "bearded genius with a divine head-dress" (Poli 2015, 291).

27

Antithetical scene

Stylised tree between two human-headed winged lions

museum number	O.2767
material	whitish sintered quartz (faience or composition)[226] with small traces of brownish glaze
dimensions	height: 26.7 mm, diameter: 12.1 mm (concave), weight: 3.74 g
condition	A fault distorts the upper part of the stylised tree, while another one appears to cover a wedge-shaped motif above the left-hand human-headed winged lion. Furthermore, only the silhouette of the left-hand human-headed winged lion's head is recognisable due to damage to the surface.
provenance	Formerly in the Moussa Collection (said to be from "Louristan"), 11–10–1958.
bibliography	Unpublished.



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[225] 457 (Adana Arkeoloji Müzesi; acquired from art market in 1970): Tunca 1979, 21 no. 85 ("faïence gris verdâtre"^{sic}, height: 26 mm, diameter: 13 mm) and pl. IX: 85.

[226] For the material, see Sax 2001, 28–29 no. I.6.2.16.

This antithetical scene represents two human-headed winged lions which flank a stylised tree that consists of an upright stem whose ends reach both edges of the cylinder seal. This stem is articulated by three equidistant six-pointed star forms which constitute its schematised branches. The two human-headed winged lions are similarly depicted with single feathered wings and upward-pointing, slightly curling tails. Both creatures are portrayed with one upraised foreleg; the legs are formed similarly to the branches of the stylised tree. However, they attest different types of posture: the left-hand figure provides the usual walking posture while the right-hand figure is portrayed in rampant posture. They also seem to differ based on their headdresses, since the right-hand, bearded figure's headdress has three horns, while the other one wears a tall conical headdress only the silhouette of which can be recognised, due to damage. Above the tails of the figures, there is a fault which seems to cover a wedge-shaped motif.

The two different types of human-headed winged lion, whose designs are characterised by the deeply shaped silhouettes, are known in glyptic art, but other than this example are not known represented together with the stylised tree in an antithetical composition. They are slightly rough and clumsily shaped; however, they reflect a vivacity which is unusual among the sintered quartz scenes. As regards the distinctive features of this antithetical scene, it is worth mentioning an unpublished sintered quartz cylinder seal, kept in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,[227] which depicts a pursuing scene involving two winged bulls very close in style to the present creatures. The silhouette-shaped body, the position of the hind legs and tail, and the feathered wings are rendered similarly to the figures on the seal studied here and reflect similar quality. Besides this seal, there is a "Fritte" cylinder seal from Tell Kesaran, Jabāl Hamrīn region, classified as Neo-Assyrian (7th century B.C.), which depicts similar human-headed winged lion-types in a pursuing scene.[228] Another type of object, a hammered copper plaque from Surkh Dum-i-Luri, similarly depicts two rampant human-headed winged lions on each side of a stylised tree,[229] reflecting similar iconography in terms of the silhouette-shaped body and the position as the human-headed winged lions on the seal presented here. Finally, the Morgan Library & Museum[230] provides a sintered quartz seal on which there is a stylised tree depicted between a bird and a worshipper, and identical to that on the studied example. In this ritual scene, a crescent moon and a six-pointed star appear above the bird, and another six-pointed star is below the bird's tail. As our seal and the studied Boston and Morgan seals show close similarities to the cylinder seal from Tell Kesaran, we may localise them to the Jabāl Hamrīn region and its Iranian borderland and propose a late second or early first millennium B.C. date.

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[227] MFA 65.1408 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston): "faience", height: 22.5 mm, diameter: 10.5 mm (studied directly in May 2016 by the author). This cylinder seal was given to the MFA in 1965 by Mrs. Oric Bates, Mrs. F. Carrington Weems, Mrs. Horace L. Mayer. According to the museum database, the seal is classified as Middle Elamite: http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/cylinder-seal-163729 (accessed 20–09–2018).

[228] HK-35/2 (from Tell Kesaran): Boehmer 1985, 20–21 no. 25 ("weißliche Fritte", height: 23 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and fig. 36.

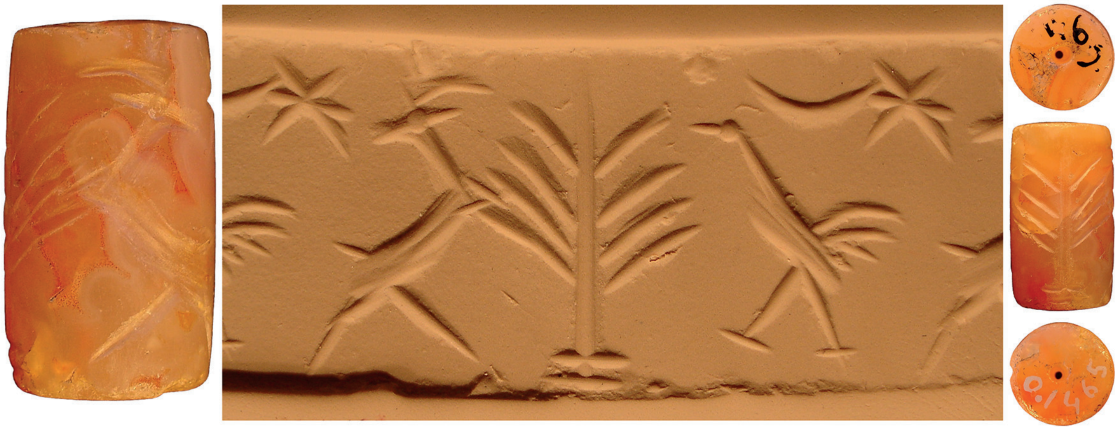
[229] Sor 1088a (Surkh Dum-i-Luri) – A25192 (Oriental Institute Museum): van Loon 1989b, 326, 345: 213a and pl. 213: a.

[230] Morgan 1009 (Morgan Library & Museum): Porada 1948, 140 no. 1009 ("frit, with residual white glaze") and pl. CLIII (height: 25.4 mm, diameter: 12.5 mm – studied directly in May 2016 by the author). E. Porada designates this seal as "Mitannian common style" (Porada 1948, 140 no. 1009).

28

ANTITHETICAL SCENE
Pine tree between a wild goat (or gazelle) and a cock

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.1465
MATERIAL	“roche opaque rougeâtre”
DIMENSIONS	height: 24.8 mm, diameter: 14.0 mm (slightly barrel-shaped with convex ends), weight: 9.03 g
CONDITION	The upper and lower edges are slightly chipped. There are small scattered faults around the lowermost right-hand branch of the pine tree.
PROVENANCE	Acquired from the antiquarian I. Élias Géjou in Paris, 23–04–1936.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	SPELEERS 1943, 119 no. 1465 (in this publication the negative was reproduced reversed).



This antithetical scene represents a pine tree between a rampant wild goat (or gazelle) whose head is turned backwards and a cock. The movement of the two animals towards the tree is showed on each animal by one upraised leg. In the sky, behind the two animals, there is a six-pointed star, and a crescent moon appears above the cock.

Since the figures are arranged at different distances from the lower border of the field, and since the wild goat and the tree are touching each other for no particular reason, this cut-style scene has a freely disposed and slightly awkward appearance. Other than the single drill-holes that constitute the wild goat’s eye, and the head of the cock, large, deep hollows dominate the depiction. The limited technology creates a slightly exaggerated form of the figures and leads to a few mistakes or peculiarly awkward solutions. The seal-cutter encountered a problem because of his failure to use the available space in rendering the forelegs of the wild goat. Also, the slightly upraised left hind leg is shaped without any articulation. Moreover, the prolongation of the main line on the neck which terminates above the head forms a secondary stubby horn, attesting once again the poor competence of the seal-cutter.

At the same time, the choice of the cock and the pine tree is notable since they are not common in the cut-style antithetical scenes.[231] In shaping the tree, the seal-cutter seemingly followed the conventional, already simplified pine tree form, which consists of a large central upright stem terminating in a sharp end, while the four emerging branches on each side of the stem are getting smaller towards the top. This form, rendered with simple elements, reflects the symmetry of the foliage of the pine tree, which becomes complete due to the horizontal line on which it stands, while another such line crosses the stem above the first one. Regarding the tree, the cylinder seal[232] kept in the Morgan Library & Museum, provides a more elaborate pine tree on a triangle (which symbolises a mountain), and the winged sun-disc appears above it. Another cylinder seal[233] also from the Morgan Library & Museum depicts a winged sun-disc above what is seemingly a cedar tree, on a mountain whose surface patterning is rendered with criss-cross lines. The Walters Art Museum conserves a fragment from the Balawat gate bronze bands, dated to Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.), on which cedars appear on a mountain.[234] Similarly to the pine tree studied here, they are depicted with branches getting smaller upwards on each side of a narrowing stem.

29

Antithetical scene

"Bottle-brush" tree between two human-headed winged lions

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2752	Plate 17.
MATERIAL	"pierre grise"	
DIMENSIONS	height: 31.9 mm, diameter: 14.4 mm, weight: 11.52 g	
CONDITION	The entire surface is smooth and glowing except for a fault which partly covers the left-hand human-headed winged lion's face.	
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection, 11–10–1958.	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.	

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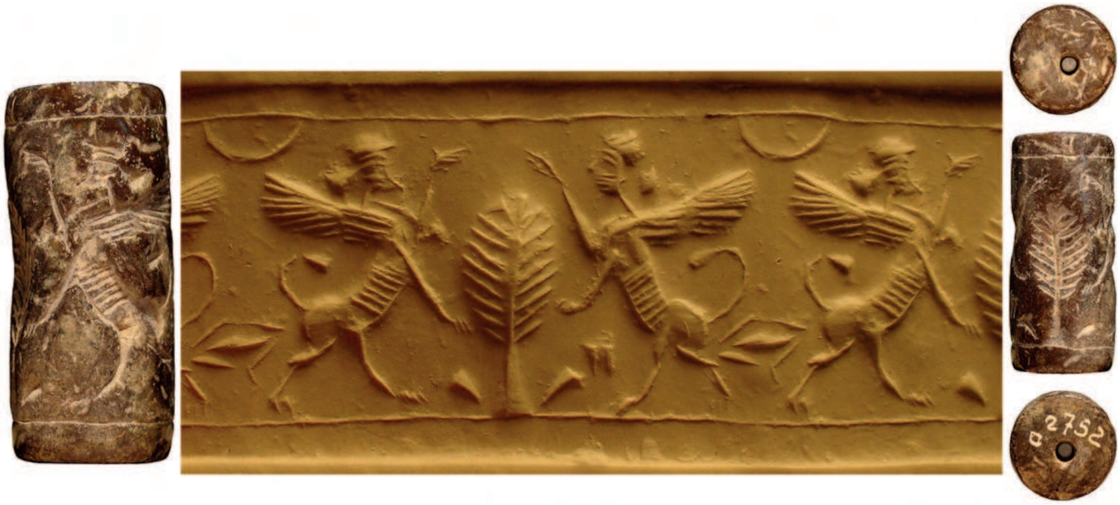
[231] For well-detailed cock depictions from Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian seal images, respectively:
– ND 305 and BM WA 130865 – 1951–2–10, 20 (British Museum; from Kalḫu, "Room B adjoining the bathroom in the Governor's Palace"): Parker 1955, 97–98: ND.305 and pl. XI: 1; Collon 2001, 109–111 ("chalcedony: mauve", height: 30.5 mm, diameter: 15.5 mm), pls. XVI and XXXIX;
– MMA 1974.288 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art): "milky chalcedony", height: 42.9 mm (the modern impression made of the cylinder seal was studied directly in May 2016 by the author). This cylinder seal was given to the MMA in 1974 by Mrs. Vladimir S. Littauer Gift). http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/326161 (accessed 20–09–2018).

[232] Morgan 707 (Morgan Library & Museum): Porada 1948, 87 no. 707 ("orange chert", height: 29 mm, diameter: 18.5 mm) and pl. CV. A rampant wild goat and a worshipper are depicted on each side of a stylised pine tree.

[233] Morgan 709 (Morgan Library & Museum): Porada 1948, 87 no. 709 ("white chalcedony", height: 20 mm, diameter: 11 mm) and pl. CVI.

[234] WAG 54.2335B (The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore; acquired by Henry Walters in 1923): Canby 1974, no. 18: B.



This antithetical scene is depicted between upper and lower borderlines. At the centre, between two human-headed winged lions, instead of a stylised tree there is a large "bottle-brush" tree which consists of a slightly rightward-oriented stem whose base is positioned between two small diverging branches. The upper part of the stem crosses the upright, oval-shaped hollow of the foliage covered by branches on each side of the stem. Two rampant human-headed winged lions attest the same posture with similar surface engravings. Above their wings, there is a slightly elongated crescent moon whose two ends touch the upper borderline, while a rhomb is depicted below the winged lions' tails. There are two upright, wedge-shaped engravings below the lowered foreleg of the right-hand figure.

Apart from the two wedge-shaped engravings, a symmetrical arrangement characterises this scene, since the composition of the figures and motifs focused on the central plant has a twofold rotational symmetry. Although the bottle-brush tree is turned slightly rightward, the crescent moon and the rhomb behind the human-headed winged lions are arranged according to this structural pattern. Another characteristic of the scene is the chosen central plant motif, that is, the bottle-brush tree, of which smaller, simplified versions appear behind the main figures in other antithetical scenes and in banquet scenes.[235] The large, deeply engraved body silhouettes of the figures, with deep lines and surface patterning, characterise this linear-style scene. The contrast between the sharp rendering and the smooth and glowing surface would have made the depiction very legible if the owner looked directly at the cylinder seal. The choice of central plant and the material of the cylinder seal (which seems to have been produced in the 9th or 8th century B.C.) attest provincial features. A brown limestone cylinder seal purchased probably in the Middle East, kept in the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, presents similar features to the studied seal, especially the deep contour line of the leonine figures with their surface patterning and the slightly elongated crescent moon.[236]

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[235] For a large bottle-brush tree depicted in a linear-style banquet scene:
– Ass 8060 – VA 5189 (Vorderasiatisches Museum; from Assur): MOORTGAT 1940, 145 no. 665 ("Speckstein", height: 23 mm, diameter: 10 mm) and pl. 79; KLENGEL-BRANDT 2014, 70 no. 152 and pl. 35: 152.

[236] Ash. 1969.356 (Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology; regarding its origin, the note attached to it states "as from Iran"): MOOREY – GURNEY 1978, 51 no. 42 ("brown limestone", height: 15 mm, diameter: 8 [9] mm [barrel-shaped]) and pl. VII.

IV.

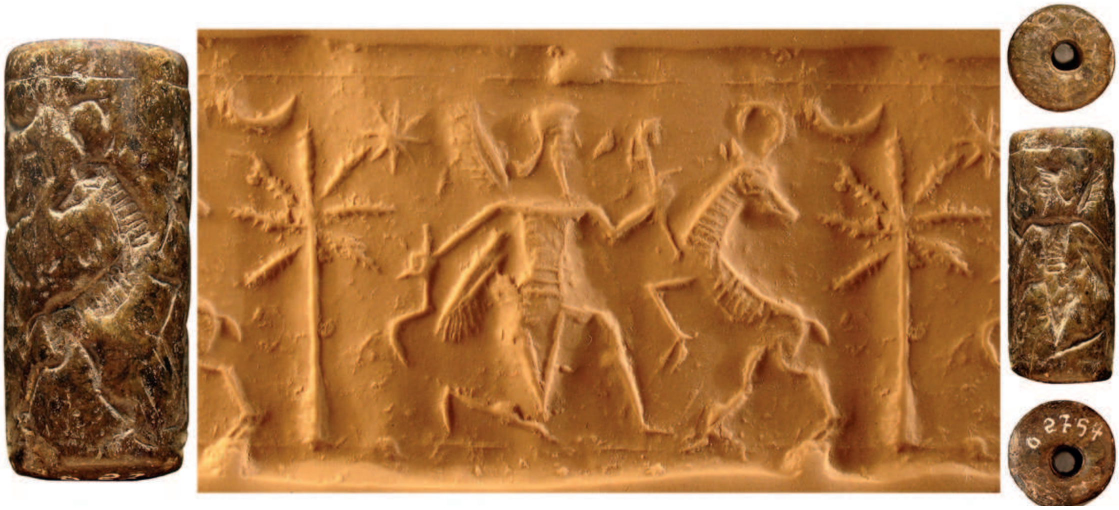
Contest scenes (30–41)

30

Contest scene

Winged hero grasping a rampant wild goat

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2754	Plates 16 and 19.
MATERIAL	"dark greenish brown serpentine"	
DIMENSIONS	height: 33.5 mm, diameter: 14.5 mm, weight: 11.42 g	
CONDITION	A single abrasion is above the winged hero's head and another below the wild goat's left hind leg. Among the scattered small faults on the field, one is situated in front of the hero's head and another partly distorts his lowered wing and body.	
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection, 11–10–1958.	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.	



This contest scene, depicted between two borderlines at the top and bottom, represents a winged hero in a half-kneeling position and a rampant wild goat, which has its head turned backwards. The bearded hero's eye, nose and mouth are marked by strokes. His right upper and lower wings have a row of feathers with a double framing edge above. He is dressed in a triple-belted tunic below his skirt, whose edge is marked by two engravings meeting at a pointed angle above the right knee. He holds a scimitar with its head curving inwards in his lowered right hand, while his left hand grasps the right foreleg of the rampant wild *goat, which is reared up on its hind legs. The wild goat is depicted with an outlined eye, two ears, and a single curving horn. Behind both of the figures, the tree is depicted with an upright stem, whose lower part is broadened. Three diverging branches emerge on each side of the stem, creating a star shape for the foliage. The leaves are indicated by strokes on the branches. Above the foliage, a crescent moon and an eight-pointed star appear in the sky.*

In this well-structured scene, the tree with the astral elements invokes the landscape and frames the contest between the two central figures, whose proportions and arrangements reflect the competence of the seal-cutter. The winged hero, constituting the focal point of the scene, is shown larger than the wild goat. The patterning indicating small details such as the musculature on the winged hero's legs or the hooves of the wild goat is naturalistically shaped. The ribbing on the hollow-backed body and the fur on the neck of the wild goat are marked with a row of lines.

This contest scene belongs to a group of similar linear-style seals in which the figures and motifs are clearly recognisable if the owner looked directly at the objects, due to the sharp contrast between the surface texture of the material and the line of the engraving. Among these contest scenes, it is worth mentioning those examples where a human hunter is portrayed in place of the winged hero – the lack of wings constituting the main difference between the two characters. The hunter is depicted with a quiver that is situated in the same position as the hero's upper wing. Another theme, which invokes the hero or hunter in standing position, depicts him between two rampant wild goats, in an antithetical scene.

In the linear-style seals, the wild goats are depicted in the same, rampant position with a detailed surface rendering similar to the present example, in the following scenes (with one or two examples each):

- rampant wild goat grasped by a hunter portrayed in a half-kneeling position with scimitar and quiver;[237]
- rampant wild goat aimed at by a hunter portrayed in a half-kneeling position with bow;[238]
- two rampant wild goats with a central tree;[239]
- antithetical composition of two rampant wild goats grasped by a standing hero or hunter.[240]

These examples, whose main feature is the application of the chosen figures to the themes represented in the given scenes, can illustrate the manufacturing principles and combination methods of the workshops. The present seal, dated to the 9th–8th centuries B.C., belongs to the Assyrian or the neighbouring Iranian territories.

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[237] ND 6027 (from Kalḫu): PARKER 1962, 33: ND.6027 ("dark grey stone", height: 20 mm) and pl. XVI: 2.

[238] See for example:
– 77371 (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, acquired by A. B. Dazzi in Egypt in 1897): DELAPORTE 1927, 61 no. 23 ("basalte vert") and pl. VIII; FELLI 2013, 337–338 no. 31 ("serpentine", height: 27 mm, diameter: 13 mm) and 387: 31 (pl.);
– ND 3226 (from Kalḫu) – Ash. 1954.742 (Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology): PARKER 1955, 101: ND.3226 and pl. XIII: 1; BUCHANAN 1966, 107 no. 574 ("light grey alabaster with white inclusions", height: 29 mm, diameter: 13 mm) and pl. 39.

[239] See for example:
– formerly kept in the De Clercq Collection: DE CLERCQ – MENANT 1888, 179 no. 312 ("porphyre vert", height: 30 mm, diameter: 13 mm) and pl. XXIX;
– Liddon Collection 41 (kept in the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology since 1898): BUCHANAN 1966, 109 no. 591 ("dark green serpentine", height: 27 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and pl. 39.

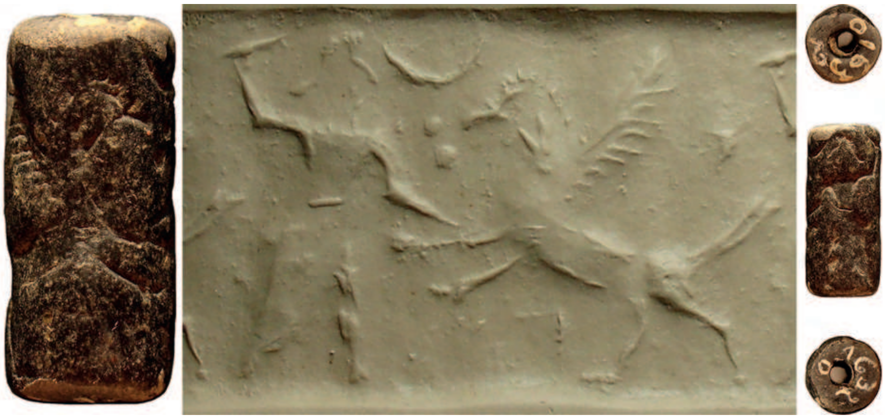
[240] Morgan 625 (Morgan Library & Museum): PORADA 1948, 75 no. 625 ("black serpentine", height: 30 mm, diameter: 14 mm) and pl. XC.

31

CONTEST SCENE

Hero grasping a rearing bird-griffin

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.1632
MATERIAL	"porphyre gris"
DIMENSIONS	height: 23.1 mm, diameter: 10.4 mm, weight: 4.74 g
CONDITION	On the damaged and partly polished surface, most of the figures' contour lines and some of their surface patterning are recut by engraving. During this procedure, the motifs situated around the two figures have been reshaped or effaced.
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Cugnin Collection, 15–05–1939.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	LEGRAIN 1911, 41 no. 62 and pl. V; SPELEERS 1939, 106–108 fig. 62; SPELEERS 1943, 119–120 no. 1632 (in this publication, the negative made of a modern seal impression was reproduced in reverse).



This scene represents a clash between a hero facing right and a rearing bird-griffin. The hero's S-shaped hair, gesture, belted long robe, and protruding left leg with the lower part of his tunic above it are discernible. In place of his completely missing face, there is only an oblique engraving, a long nose, while the belt seems also to have been engraved during the reshaping. He holds his sword, marked with a straight engraving, in his upraised right hand, while his left hand grasps one of the forelegs of the rampant bird-griffin. The bird-griffin has an eye marked with a small hole; a long, curved beak, characterising the birds of prey; and a crest rendered by short strokes. The surface patterning on the neck is intended to mark simplified curls. Its long wing has a framing edge above feathers shaped with different-length parallel lines arranged in a gently curving row. His outlined body and the disposition of the legs are also naturalistic, attesting the high quality of the original image, although the long bird-tail marked by two curving lines seems too elongated. Between the two figures there is a crescent moon in the sky, with two holes below it the meaning of which is questionable,[241] *as is that of the traces that appear below the body of the bird-griffin*

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[241] There is no space for the shaping of the seven globes of the Sibitti on the available field between the two figures.

because of damage to the field. Another trace, which appears above the tail of the bird-griffin, might be a wedge-shaped motif.[242]

Among the linear-style contest scenes, there is a cylinder seal formerly kept in the De Clercq Collection[243] in which a clash between a hero and a bird-griffin appears. Although the body position of the mythical creature is different, this detailed depiction allows us to recognise the main features of the example presented here. With regard to the damaged field and the reshaping of the figures, it is interesting to note two other seals. One of them,[244] which belongs to a group sent from Mesopotamia by the missionary le Père Lhuillier, has a striking resemblance to the studied example in terms of the style and the reshaping procedure. Other than the gesture and the weapon of the hero, the two seals reveal the same rendering: even the main contour lines were reshaped by a similar method. In addition to the similar themes, quality level, and condition, these two linear-style cylinder seals appeared at nearly the same time in France. Nevertheless, there is no information about the origin of the seals from the Cugnin Collection which could prove a common origin between them. The other recut cylinder seal, kept in the Kist Collection, depicts a clash between the hero, represented in a half-kneeling position, and the rampant bird-griffin.[245] In this scene, the bird-griffin's crested head, beak, and body position, except the long curving tail, reveal similar characteristics to those of the rampant bird-griffin on the studied seal.

32

CONTEST SCENE

Winged hero grasping a rampant bird-griffin depicted in escaping position

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2775
MATERIAL	"pierre blanche"
DIMENSIONS	height: 25.5 mm, diameter: 13.1 mm (with slightly convex ends), weight: 8.20 g
CONDITION	The upper and lower edges are slightly chipped.
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection (said to be from the region situated "entre l'Élam et Persépolis"), 11–10–1958.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.

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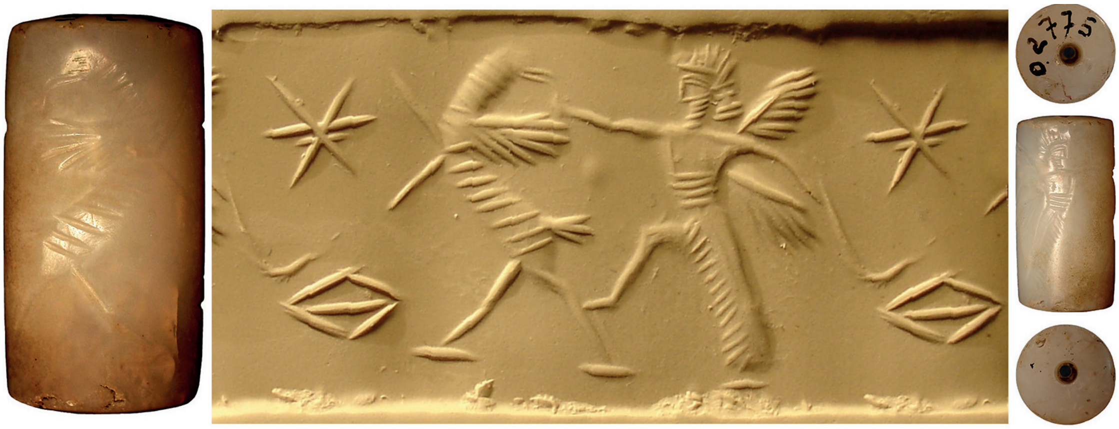
[242] A similar motif appears in a linear-style contest scene depicting a hero represented in a half-kneeling position and a rampant bird-griffin:

– FUB 116 (Freie Universität Berlin, Institut für Vorderasiatische Altertumskunde, formerly kept in the Oppenländer Collection): MOORTGAT-CORRENS 1968, 276 no. 119 ("schwarzer Stein", height: 29 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and pl. 48.

[243] Formerly kept in the De Clercq Collection: DE CLERCQ – MENANT 1888, 178 no. 307 ("porphyre noire", height: 38 mm, diameter: 14 mm) and pl. XXIX.

[244] C. 341 (Musée historique et archéologique de l'Orléanais; acquired by le Père Lhuillier in Mesopotamia): DELAPORTE 1909B, 96 no. 23 (height: 18 mm, diameter: 9 mm).

[245] Allard Pierson Museum (formerly kept in the Kist Collection): KIST 2003, 181 no. 337 ("steatite", height: 35 mm, diameter: 9 mm).



This scene represents a clash between a winged hero, depicted in Babylonian posture, and a rampant bird-griffin attempting to escape. The winged hero, facing left, is depicted with lowered left arm holding a scimitar behind his body. He is depicted grasping the wing of the bird-griffin with his right hand, while treading on one of its hind legs with his right foot. Behind the hero, there is a six-pointed star in the sky and a rhomb on the lower field.

The figures' bodies are characterised by hollow-shaped silhouettes, including the heads and wings; their limbs are shaped with minimal articulation. The belt and fringe on the hero's long robe, the feathers on both figures' wings, and the patterning on the bird-griffin's body are rendered by straight engravings without any apparent care, similarly to the filling motifs. As for the competence of the seal-cutter(s), we can remark on the very limited detailing, except for the hero's head, whose eye and eyebrow, hair, and simplified tiara are articulated with short lines. Regarding the relatively large filling motifs, a secondary small line of the six-pointed star seems to be an incorrectly placed ray below the main, slightly horizontal ray.

This seal belongs to the group of Babylonian cut-style contest scene seals and is characterised by the combination of simple, limited technologies, explaining the crudeness of the details. On stylistic grounds, a cylinder seal from the Boche Collection[246] depicting the winged hero between a bull and an ostrich provides the closest parallel to the present seal. Moreover, they all reflect the same quality level, with the following details similarly rendered: the hero's bearded head, feathered wings, belt, and fringed long robe, as well as the surface patterning of the hero's adversaries and the shape of the filling motifs, such as the rhomb and the six-pointed star.[247]

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[246] Boche Collection: Weber 1920, 70 no. 353: "Slg. Boche 147 Assur. I."

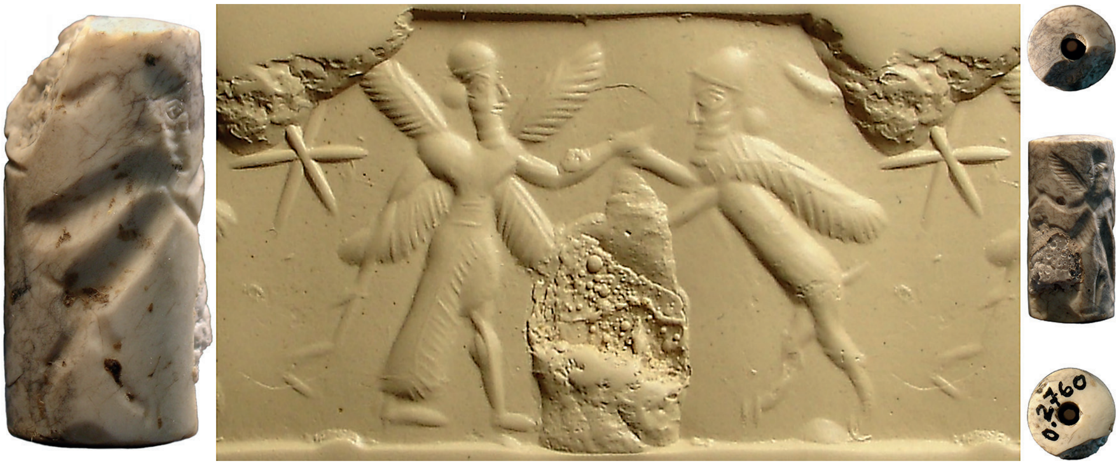
[247] Based on the mythical creatures depicted and the quality level of the seal image, the following Babylonian cut-style seals show similarities to the present seal:
- NCBS 426 (Yale Babylonian Collection, formerly kept in the Newell Collection): von der Osten 1934, 62–63 no. 426 ("milky chalcedony", height: 29 mm, diameter: 14 mm) and pl. XXIX;
- Motamed Collection: Möller 1964 (preface) 66 no. 240 ("Bergkristall", height: 25.9 mm, diameter: 13 mm) and fig. 57;
- BM WA 119323 – 1928–2–11, 26 (British Museum, "obtained by Major V.E. Mocatta, possibly from Warka"): Collon 2001, 158 no. 299 ("chalcedony: grey with brown inclusion … slightly barrel-shaped with convex ends", height: 31 mm, diameter: 14 [15] mm) and pl. XXV.

33

CONTEST SCENE

Winged hero grasping a rearing human-headed winged lion

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2760
MATERIAL	
DIMENSIONS	height: 24.9 mm, diameter: 12.1 mm (with convex ends), weight: 5.42 g
CONDITION	Less than half of the upper edge has broken off at a height of about 8 mm, while a large oval fault in the stone overlaps the scene, between the two figures. Furthermore, a small fault distorts part of the winged hero's left forearm.
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection, 11–10–1958.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.



This scene represents a clash between a winged hero and a rampant human-headed lion. The winged hero has a delicately modelled, outlined eye with eyebrow, nose, and lips, while his beard is articulated by small hollows arranged in a vertical row. He is dressed in a rounded, dome-shaped headdress with a brim, and a circular hole marks the hair below it. His tunic covers his shoulder and leaves his arms uncovered, while his broad-belted long robe has a fringe marked with a row of strokes along his right leg. This long robe is open, revealing his undecorated tunic and protruding left leg. His two pairs of wings are equally sized according to the Babylonian style, and have a double framing edge above. In his right hand, the hero holds a scimitar with its blade curving inwards, while his left hand grasps the right forepaw of the rearing human-headed lion, which has an outlined eye with eyebrow, nose, lips, beard, and hair similarly shaped to those of the winged hero, while its brimmed headdress has an elongated, slightly conical shape. Its lowered wing, which starts at its foreleg and covers his shoulder, has a double framing edge above, and the feathers are shaped by parallel lines arranged in an oblique row. In comparison to its detailed face and rearing hind legs, on which the claws are indicated by short sharpened strokes, its body and extended forelegs are shaped in a more rudimentary fashion. Contrary to its leonine features, it has a stubby tail. Behind the two figures there is a large six-pointed star, and a crescent moon is situated above the human-headed lion's wing. Due to damage to the field, there is no recognisable figure or filling motif between the two figures on the lower field.

The design of this modelled-style seal is characterised by the hollow-backed bodies leaning forwards, which create a triangular effect. This structural arrangement is emphasised by the orientation of the winged hero's lowered right hand with the scimitar and by the elongated forms, such as the two figures' limbs (see the winged hero's left arm) and bodies. Regarding the rendering of the figures, we can observe the contrast between the lightly modelled faces and the rather more basic hands; the human-headed lion's body and forelegs and the astral motifs are also simply shaped. Based on this difference in the quality of the iconography, we suppose that certain work phases and details were executed by different artisans.

A cylinder seal from the Bibel+Orient Museum, Sammlung der Universität Fribourg[248] and another one kept formerly in the Erlenmeyer Collection[249] are extremely similar to the present seal in structural arrangement and stylistic details. Moreover, a cylinder seal kept in the Musée du Louvre[250] also provides a close parallel (see e.g. the body of the lion, which attests a similar execution to the present human-headed lion). Besides these Babylonian modelled-style seals without provenance, there is a finding from Ur[251] and another from Uruk[252] which in several respects attest similar characteristics to the object studied here.

34

CONTEST SCENE

Hero grasping a rampant bird-griffin depicted in escaping position in front of a stylised tree below a winged sun-disc

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.1486	Plate 20.
MATERIAL	"opale"	
DIMENSIONS	height: 24.3 mm, diameter: 12.9 mm, weight: 7.42 g	
CONDITION	The upper and lower edges are badly chipped; furthermore, two faults partly cover the winged sun-disc above, while a very deep upright fault overlaps the trunk and part of the upper foliage of the stylised tree. A narrow abrasion crosses the bird-griffin's body.	
PROVENANCE	Acquired from the antiquarian I. Élias Géjou in Paris (said to be from "Kalat Shergat"), 23–04–1936.	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	SPELEERS 1936, 125–126 fig. 16 (in this publication, the negative made of a modern seal impression was reproduced in reverse); SPELEERS 1943, 117–118 no. 1486 (photo also reversed in the publication).	

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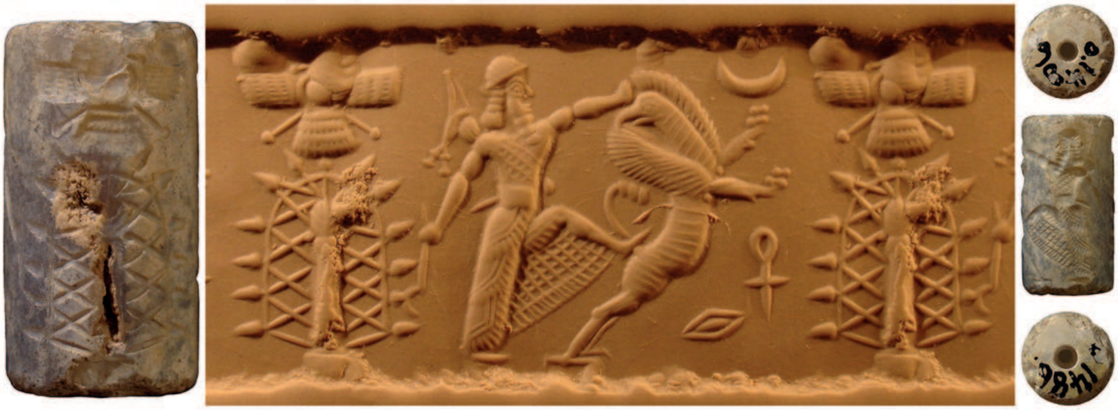
[248] VR 1981.119 (Bibel+Orient Museum, Sammlung der Universität Fribourg): KEEL-LEU – TEISSIER 2004, 143–144 no. 145 ("hellgrau beiger Halbopal", height: 24.8 mm, diameter: 10.5 mm) and 436 (pl.).

[249] Formerly kept in the Erlenmeyer Collection: ERLENMEYER – ERLENMEYER 1962, 296, 312 fig. 79 (height: 24 mm, diameter: 13 mm) and pl. LIII: fig. 79; Sotheby's (London) 09–07–1992, 120–121 no. 207 ("carnelian", height: 22 mm, diameter: 11 mm).

[250] AO 7216 (Musée du Louvre): DELAPORTE 1923, 165: A.672 ("jaspe rouge brun, tacheté de bleu", height: 22 mm, diameter: 9 mm) and pl. 87: 15.

[251] U.1487 (from Ur): WOOLLEY 1965, 96: U.1487 ("steatite"^{sic}) and pl. 35.

[252] W 21937 (from Uruk): LENZEN 1974, 35: W 21937 ("Bergkristall", height: 24 mm, diameter: 10 mm) and pl. 23: f.



This contest scene represents a clash between a hero, facing right, and a pursuing rampant bird-griffin beside a stylised tree surmounted by a winged sun-disc. The bearded hero is dressed in a tunic which covers his shoulder and leaves his arms uncovered, while his belted, open long robe consists of three fringed tiers along the right leg and reveals the tunic and his protruding left leg. The tunic above the broad belt and the inner side of the long robe are similarly decorated with a cross-hatched pattern, and both garments terminate equally in a similarly shaped curving fringed hem. The hero has a sword in his belt and, above his shoulder, a bow in a quiver, with its two strings hanging down. Furthermore, in his lowered right hand, the hero holds a scimitar (sickle sword), with its blade curving inwards. The bird-griffin has an outlined eye and the long, curved beak characterising birds of prey,[253] *which overlaps the upper end of its wing, whose feathers are arranged in a double row. The feathers of the crest, marked with a row of parallel, striated lines, run from the top of the head along the neck. Besides the beak, crest and wing, the hind legs with talons are additional avian features, while the hollow-backed body decorated with long parallel engravings and the forelegs, whose paws are articulated with drill-holes, are leonine characteristics, and finally, the creature has a long curving bull-tail. The winged sun-disc has an outlined central disc bordered by a spiral shape (i.e., a volute) at the top. On either side of the disc, the inside of the wing is decorated with dense horizontal strokes arranged in narrow upright rows. The patterning of the tail is articulated by dense upright strokes arranged in narrow horizontal rows. Streamers, which terminate in drill-holes (i.e., globe-tipped elements), hang down from the sun-disc. The central upright stem of the stylised tree, resting on an oval base, ends in a palmette above. The trunk is encircled with an arch-shaped line, and the cross-shaped engravings inside constitute the branches, while there is a row of cones along the outside of this arch,*[254] *arranged to sit precisely where the ends of each pair of cross-shaped branches meet and touch the arch line. Above the upraised paw of the bird-griffin there is a crescent moon, while, below the lowered paw, an ankh symbol and a rhomb appear on the lower field.*

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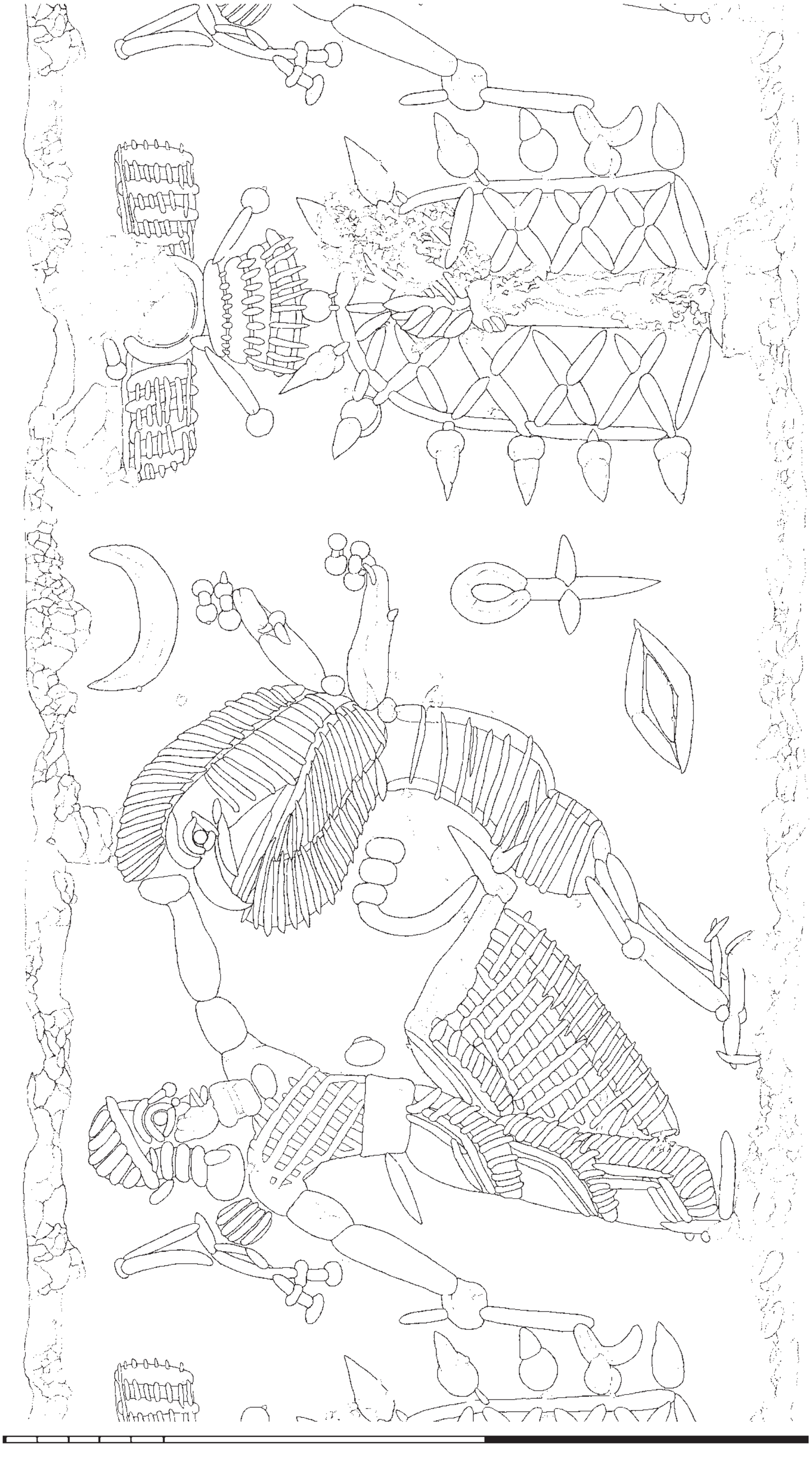
[253] The *apkallu* figures depicted with the head of a bird, characterised by the feathered crest and the beak of birds of prey, and the head of the European black vulture are similar to the head of the present bird-griffin (Huxley 2000, 130–131 figs. 20 and 21).

[254] Although the uppermost cone and one of the laterals are covered partly by the tail of the sun-disc and the hero's scimitar respectively, the arrangement of the stylised tree shows a perfect symmetry.



This seal image, a high-level modelled-style seal, provides the canonical elements of a well-known contest scene, that is, the clash between the hero and the bird-griffin, as well as the stylised tree surmounted by the winged sun-disc in front of the clashing figures. The hero, deriving from the so-called Babylonian posture is depicted with lowered arm with the scimitar behind his body and with turned-out left hand, which grasps the crest of the bird-griffin in order to move it backward while his left foot is braced against its rump in order to block it. As a result of this, the bird-griffin, which seems to be trying to fly and escape, is depicted with hollow-backed body, upright outstretched wing, struggling forelegs and jumping hind legs. The contrary direction of the two figures alongside equation of their movements creates the dynamism of the scene.

The Babylonian posture of the hero here is an appropriate designation given the origin of this seal; however, this posture in Assyrian glyptic art is also well known, due to the Babylonian influence. Similarly to other high-quality examples of the so-called Assyro-Babylonian seals in the modelled style, fine details characterise the present seal; see (*e.g.*) the hero's outlined eye with eyebrow, his nose formed by two lines with a drill-hole at their meeting point, and his lips represented by two strokes. The cross-hatched pattern of the hero's clothing, the fine details of the winged sun-disc, created by strokes, and the well-balanced stylised tree with the use of the palmette also share features of these modelled-style seals. The present Assyro-Babylonian object, whose alleged provenance is Assur ("Kalat Shergat"), can be dated to the last third of the 8th or the early 7th century B.C. on stylistic grounds.[255]

Compared to canonised figures of similar seal images, only the bird-griffin's bull tail is unusual, since this hybrid creature is depicted with feather tail.[256] There are a few contest scenes in which the hero and the rampant (winged) bull are depicted in the same position as in the studied example. Among them, a less detailed and very damaged cylinder seal from Assur[257] presents the same type of stylised tree surmounted by a winged sun-disc and a hero with a winged bull. Another, less detailed cylinder seal kept in the Walters Art Museum[258] presents the same figures along with a worshipper. Further, the same contest scene appears on another seal from the Anavian Collection;[259] contrary to our present seal, the anthropomorphic figure of Šamaš with his two divine followers is also depicted on this winged sun-disc. Besides these, a more detailed seal kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France[260] attests a close parallel to the present seal on stylistic grounds.[261]

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[255] For the Assyro-Babylonian seals, see COLLON 2001, 4–5: I.4.2.5, 155 and 166: XVII.4.

[256] For another bird-griffin depicted with a long tail in a pursuing scene, see **17** in the present catalogue.

[257] Ass 9939 – VA Ass 1701 (Vorderasiatisches Museum): KLENGEL-BRANDT 2014, 5–6 no. 14 ("Kalk, weiβlich kaum Transparent", height: 15 mm, diameter: 10 mm) and pl. 4.

[258] WAG 42.798 (The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore): GORDON 1939, 28 no. 87 (related to this seal and its number: "plaster impression" and "WAG C10 = C11" appear in this publication) and pl. XI (height: 31.4 mm, diameter: 14.0 mm, with convex ends – studied directly by the present author in May 2016).

[259] Anavian Collection: VOLK 1979, no. 226 ("cornelian", height: 25 mm, diameter: 13 mm).

[260] Del. 328 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, formerly kept in the Lajard Collection, acquired in 1844): LAJARD 1847, 5 and pl. XV: 1; DELAPORTE 1910, 183–184 no. 328 ("calcédoine saphirine", height: 25 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and pl. XXII.

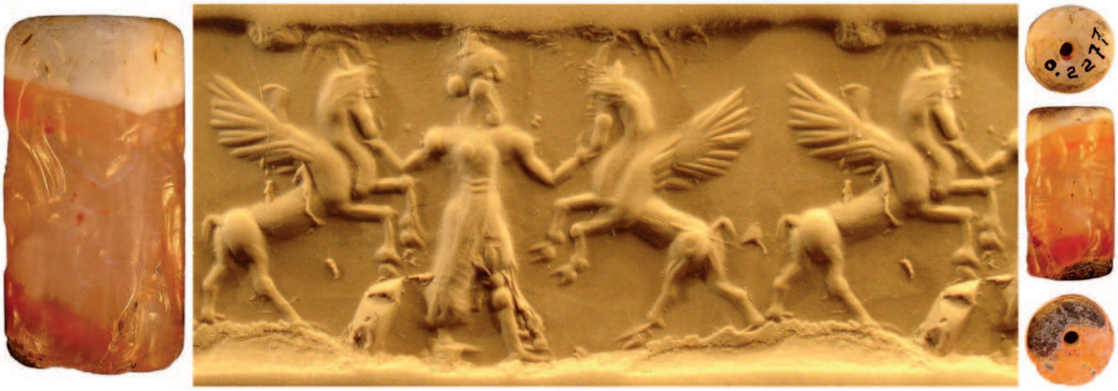
[261] Unfortunately, there is no photograph published of a modern seal impression, known only from a drawing, which depicts a clash between a hero and a bull:
– DMMA S 244 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, formerly kept in the Schlumberger Collection): MECQUENEM 1922, 168 (fig.) and 171–172 no. 23.

35

CONTEST SCENE

Hero between two human-faced winged ibexes

MUSEUM NUMBER	IR.866 (previous museum number: O.2777)
MATERIAL	
DIMENSIONS	height: 22.6 mm, diameter: 11.7 mm, weight: 5.72 g
CONDITION	A dark greyish layer covers one half of the lower part of the cylinder seal. Another identical layer covers the lower part of the field below the winged ibexes' hind legs and partly covers their hooves. There is a small fault behind their tails, and another below the left-hand winged ibex's forelegs. Furthermore, an abrasion distorts the tassel hanging down in front of the hero's left leg.
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection, 11–10–1958.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.



This contest scene depicts a hero between two rearing winged ibexes with human faces. The bearded hero has a dome-shaped headdress with a brim, and a hole marks the hair below it. He is dressed in a tunic which covers his shoulders and leaves his arms uncovered, while two slightly curving lines mark his belt. His long robe is patterned by engravings; two of them run along its hem, and there are some short, nearly horizontal lines which designate a fringe on the hem. This long robe is open, revealing the hero's protruding left leg and fringed tunic; the end of its hanging tassel terminates in two drill-holes below an abrasion. The hero grasps the two rampant human-faced winged ibexes by the edges of their beards. They are both depicted with two curving horns, one straight ear, and a turned-down stubby tail. On their wings, the feathers are arranged in two parts: one row of parallel short engravings is behind their shoulders, and the other part, which consists of longer, diverging engravings, covers the external arc of their wings. On the deepest surface, the feathers of the left-hand ibex's wing are left unmarked. The hooves are marked with a combination of drill-holes and short pointed strokes.

This contest scene, whose three figures are arranged in antithetical composition, is well known in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian iconography; among the several dozen known examples, there is a cylinder seal kept in the Vorderasiatisches Museum[262] which in several respects is very similar to the presented seal. The Berlin seal's image has the same composition, and they are identical in the technology used and in almost every stylistic detail. It is important to emphasise that although they are not a unique pair of seal images in terms of the chosen scenes or the quality of the execution, nevertheless, their striking resemblance enables us to compare them.

On the two seal images, the three figures are characterised by identical deep silhouettes in which one part of the engraving is only slightly visible or left empty. In the execution of the figures' faces, small drill-holes were used to shape the eye and the end of the nose, while the contours of the nose and the lips are marked by straight strokes. The upper and lower parts of the beards and the lower part of the hair are in both cases formed by large drill-holes, and four identical drill-holes arranged in an arch constitute the shoulders and the breast, on the two heroes' upper bodies. The patterning of the heroes' long robes shows difference, making it an exception. As for the human-faced winged ibexes, we can attest based on the silhouette-shaped bodies to similar work phases and technologies used as in the engravings (except the hooves, the orientation of the tails and the hind legs, and the genitalia, which appear on the winged ibexes on the Berlin seal). These are not personal marks which could prove the same hand; however, the scenes were created according to the same pattern and compositional methods, presumably in the same workshop.

36

Contest scene

Winged hero between two winged bulls

museum number	O.568
material	"pierre rouge opaque"
dimensions	height: 30.0 mm, diameter: 15.2 mm, weight: 12.59 g
condition	The upper edge has been partly broken, and then its surface has been polished. The field around the figures is badly damaged or etched.[263]
provenance	According to L. Speleers's descriptions (Speleers 1920, 14; Speleers 1923a, 20), l'abbé de Genouillac acquired several cylinder seals (O.469–593) in Syria during his travels of 1911–12. The museum bought this lot in Paris (1913).
bibliography	Speleers 1917, 182–183 no. 568.

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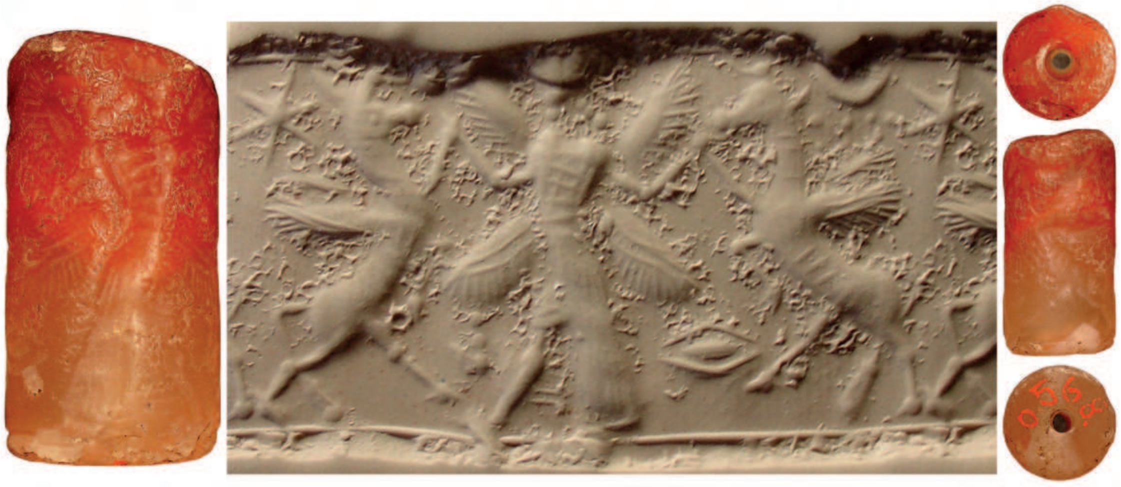
[262] VA 539 (Vorderasiatisches Museum, from a private collection): Moortgat 1940, 150 no. 743 ("Chalcedon") and pl. 87 (height: 28.3 mm, diameter: 12.8 mm – studied directly in September 2013 by the author).

[263] The surface damaged by pitting attests to similar particularities recognised on a cylinder seal by D. Collon and M. Sax: "The seal surface is extensively damaged by pitting. … the seal may have been etched, either deliberately during manufacture or naturally during burial. Subsequent loss of the etched surface has probably caused the pitting [M. Sax])." (Collon 2001, 190). This cylinder seal depicts an antithetical contest scene (winged hero facing left between two rearing bulls):
– BM WA 129555 – 1945–10–13, 99 (British Museum, formerly kept in the Southesk Collection, acquired in 1901 from the Waddell Collection): Carnegie 1908, 98–99 no. Q ý18; Collon 2001, 189–190 no. 386 ("chalcedony: grey brown", height: 22.5 mm, diameter: 11.5 mm) and pl. XXXII.



This antithetical scene, depicted between two borderlines at the top and bottom, represents a winged hero between two rearing winged bulls. The bearded hero faces left, which is a rare phenomenon among similar contest scenes. The upper half of the hero's head, including most of his face, is missing due to a fault; however, his long beard and three different-sized drill-holes marking his shoulder-length hair seem to be recognisable. Each of his two pairs of wings has one row of feathers with double framing above; the feathers are indicated by horizontal and vertical lines on the upper and lower wings respectively. He is dressed in a tunic and a broad-belted long robe, whose opening at the front reveals his tunic. The upper part of his dress, decorated with a cross-hatched pattern, seemingly leaves his arms open, while the open long robe consists of three hardly recognisable fringed tiers terminating in a fringed hem. The inner edge of the long robe is indicated with two horizontal lines between the legs, somewhat higher than usual. The hero grasps one foreleg of each rearing winged bull, whose other forelegs are let dangle. They have circle-dot eyes, and their muzzles end in a drill-hole, while the ribbing is marked with oblique lines on their bodies. Their two wings, shown with the inner one lowered, are similarly shaped to the hero's upper wings. They are rearing up on one of their hind legs, while the other one is raised ahead, and the end of the tail is situated between them. Behind the winged bulls a crescent moon, the Sibitti, and a six-pointed star with a globe in the middle are depicted in the sky, while on the lower field, at the level of the hero's knee, there is a rhomb behind him, while in front of him a particular motif seems to be a beak-spouted vessel, whose body is shaped with three drill-holes arranged in a vertical row, with the beak arising from the lowest one.

Despite the leftward orientation of the hero, this modelled-style scene presents the characteristics of the main figures in otherwise similar antithetical contest scenes: the patterning of the clothes and feathers, the hollow-backed body of the winged bulls (with the dangling foreleg, the hind leg pointing straight out backwards, and the position of the tail). Also decisive is the active use of the relatively small drill-holes which mark the muzzles, brush-tipped tails, and articulated knee joints and hooves of the bulls. Drill-holes of the same size designate the beard, the lower part of the hair, the Sibitti, and, under the hero's lower left wing, a particular motif which refers to a vessel. A cylinder seal kept in the State Hermitage Museum[264] shows the closest resemblance to the present seal: drill-holes constitute the hero's beard and hair below the hair paint, the cross-hatched pattern appears on the upper part of the hero's dress, and the winged bulls are rendered in similar posture in terms of the tail, the feathers on the wings, and the ribs, though not the position of the head. Among the filling motifs, the six-pointed star with a globe in the middle, the Sibitti, and the rhomb are also identical. The hero's two pairs of wings are of nearly identical size, thereby possibly proving the Babylonian origin of the seal image, which we date to the second half of the 8th or the 7th century B.C.

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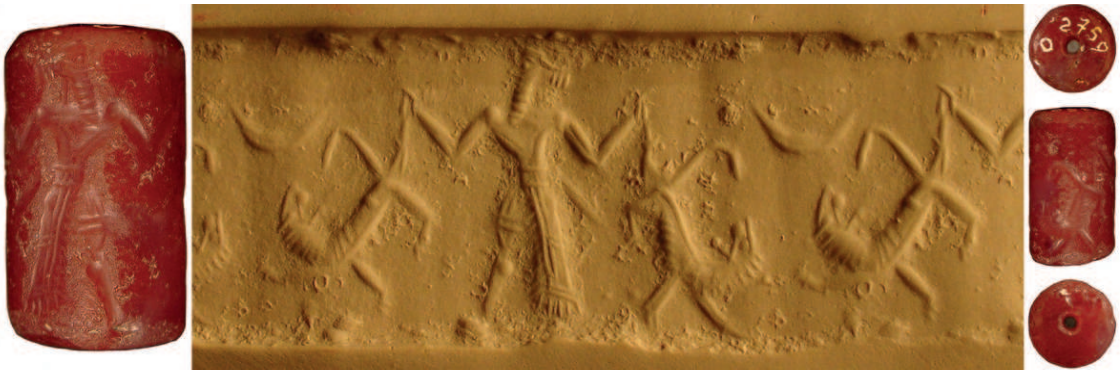
[264] ДВ-6572 (State Hermitage Museum): Mattila 1995, 41 (fig.) and 188 no. 51 ("stone", height: 3.2 mm).

37

Contest scene

Hero between two lions

museum number	O.2759
material	
dimensions	height: 20.9 mm, diameter: 11.8 mm (with convex ends), weight: 5.37 g
condition	The upper and lower edges are chipped. The field around the figures is damaged or etched.[265]
provenance	Formerly in the Moussa Collection (said to be from the region situated "entre l'Élam et Persépolis"), 11–10–1958.
bibliography	Unpublished.



This contest scene depicts a hero, facing left, who grasps two lions by a hind paw. The bearded hero has an outlined eye with a drill-hole in the middle. His beard and hair at the back are articulated by short engravings arranged in a row. He is dressed in a broad, striped belt with a sword behind him at his waist and a tunic which covers his shoulder and leaves his arms uncovered. His fringed long robe is patterned by double engraving, halved by another double engraving in the middle. This robe is open, revealing his protruding left leg and the tunic framed by a double line. The mane and the fur along the belly of the two lions are shaped with parallel engravings. Their eye and muzzle are indicated by drill-holes and their claws by short strokes. Above their heads there is a slightly elongated crescent moon.

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[265] For this surface damage, see footnote 263 to **36**.

The position of the lions provides the main particularity of this seal image. Among the antithetical contest scenes there are a few examples[266] in which a hero grasps lions by the paws of their hind legs and the lions are depicted in turned position. Among them, a cylinder seal kept in the Adana Arkeoloji Müzesi,[267] provides a very close parallel to the present seal (see the elaboration of the hero's face and upper body as well as the lions' arrangement and detailing). The position of the crescent moon provides another particularity of this scene, since it is situated, unusually, at the level of the hero's shoulder, lower than the other crescent moon depictions. The seal image is dated to the 7th or 6th century B.C. and is connected to Babylonia or its neighbouring Iranian sphere.

38

Contest scene

The slaying of the Bull of Heaven by Gilgamesh and Enkidu

museum number	O.1388 (present location unknown)[268]
material	"agate"
dimensions	height: 23 mm, diameter: 12 mm, weight: unknown
condition	A large fault disfigures the right hind leg of the winged bull. One abrasion distorts the upper part of sign ni (line 2) and another sign uru (line 3).
provenance	Acquired from the antiquarian I. Élias Géjou in Paris, 23–09–1936.
bibliography	Speleers 1943, 121 no. 1388 (in this publication, the negative made of a modern seal impression was reproduced in reverse) and 187; Lambert 1987, 50 and pl. XI; Wittmann 1992, 201–202: II.A.5 no. 59 and pl. 23; Collon 2005^2 [first published in 1987], 180–181 no. 857; von Pilgrim 1995, 547 and pl. 42: e; Gamer-Wallert 1997a, 147 and 151 fig. 3; Gamer-Wallert 1997b, 237 and pl. 84: a; Gubel 2007c, 111 no. Sceau-cylindre 123; Opificius 2010, 86 and 354 fig. 13; Steymans 2010A, 6.

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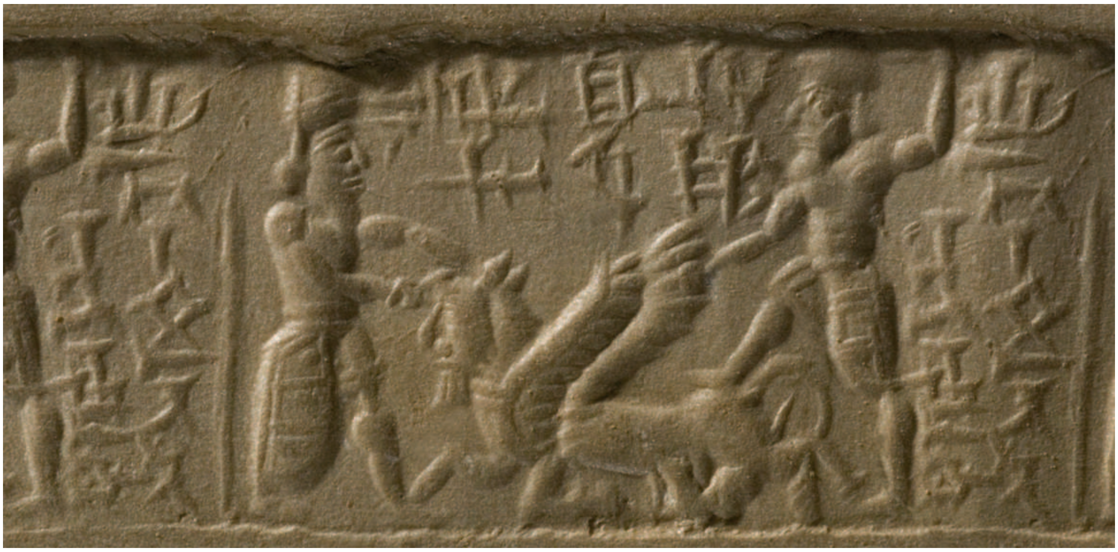
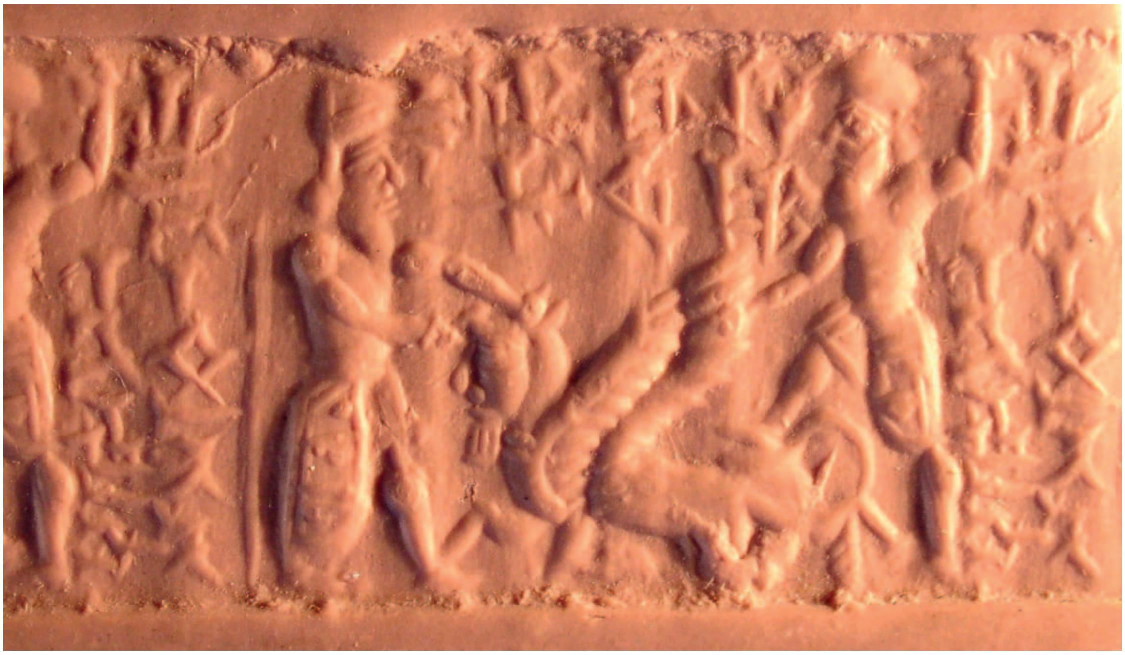
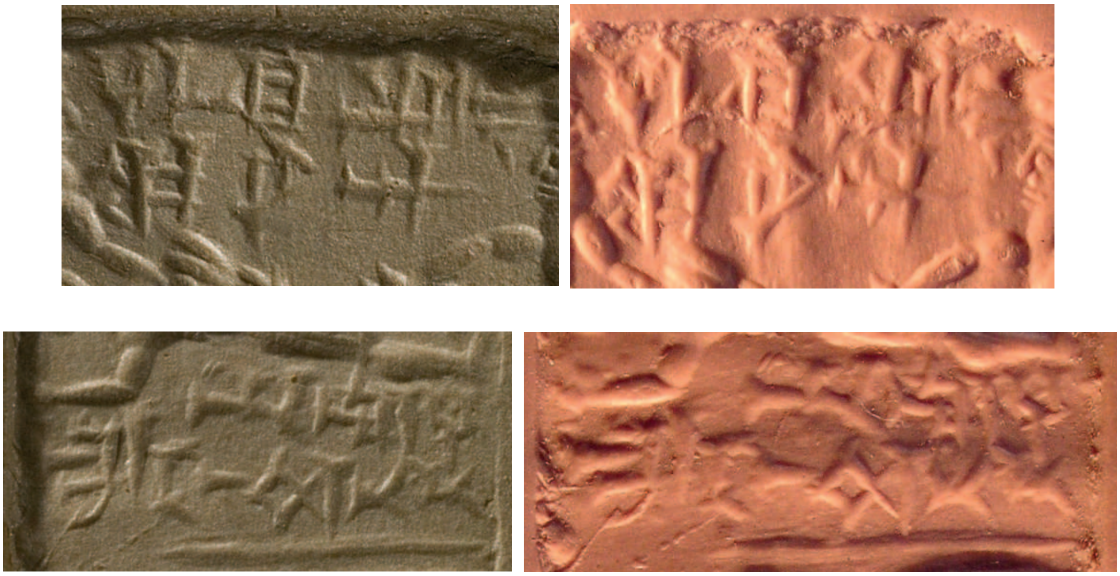
[266] For similar arrangement of lions grasped by a winged hero, see the following Neo-Babylonian seals:
– Bab. 36292 – VA 6938 (Vorderasiatisches Museum; from Babylon, Merkes, "in einer Schicht, die älter ist als Nebukadnezar"): Moortgat 1940, 150 no. 735 ("Chalcedon", height: 33 mm, diameter: 16 mm) and pl. 86;
– MMA 1983.116 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, from art market): Wittmann 1992, 264 no. 73 ("Achat ?", height: 35 mm, diameter: 14 mm, with Neo-Babylonian seal legend) and pl. 26: 73;
– present location unknown: Christie's (London) 07–07–1993, 90–91 no. 209 ("chalcedony", height: 35 mm).

[267] 1132 (Adana Arkeoloji Müzesi, acquired from art market in 1964): Tunca 1979, 22 no. 98 ("stéatite", height: 34 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and pl. XI.

[268] This description is based on the seal impression, while the parameters of the cylinder seal come from earlier publications and the museum archive.







Inverted image of the seal legend on the impression (**38**).

INSCRIPTION	1) *šá* ^{m}*Qé-ru-ub–*	*ša Qerub-*	Property of Qerub-
	2) *di-ni*–DINGIR	*dīni-ili*	dīni-ili,
	3) EN–URU *šá*	*bēl āli ša*	mayor of
	4) ^{uru}*Raq-qa-ti*	*Raqqati*	Raqqatu.[269]

BIBLIOGRAPHY Speleers 1943, 121 no. 1388 and 187; Lambert 1987, 50 no. 40; Wittmann 1992, 202: II.A.5 no. 59; Collon 2005^{2} [first published in 1987], 181 no. 857; Gubel 2007c, 111 no. Sceau-cylindre 123. For the toponym Raqqatu, situated in Bīt-Iākīn, see Parpola 1970, 292: Raqqatu; Zadok 1985, 258–259: Raqqat and further examples beginning with this toponym.

This seal image represents a mythological scene in which Gilgamesh and Enkidu kill the Bull of Heaven. Gilgamesh is facing right and has an outlined, conical headdress with double brim, while Enkidu is depicted without any headdress. Gilgamesh is clothed in a long, belted robe open at the front, revealing his tunic and his protruding left leg; the half-naked Enkidu wears a skirt with a triple belt. Both heroes' clothes are decorated with a band of dotted squares. This decorative pattern means that there is a large drill-hole in each panel, arranged in a column. Gilgamesh is grasping the winged bull's horn with his left hand and stabbing the creature in the head, above its ears, with his dagger held in his right. The end of the dagger handle is marked by a stroke beneath his hand. Enkidu pulls the feathered wing of the bull backwards, grasping it with his right hand, while stepping on the rump of his recumbent prey with his right foot to hold it still, and holds a dagger in his upraised left hand, behind his head. The beast is depicted with a human face and long beard; the feathers on its wing are arranged in two rows, and there is a framing edge above. The winged bull appears in a subdued, reclining position, with bent forelegs, while its tail is pointed backwards between the hind legs. The arrangement of the hooves, shaped naturalistically, reflects the beast's powerlessness and its inability to move.

The cuneiform inscription was engraved in positive and therefore comes out reversed in impression. The four-line, Neo-Babylonian legend, which covers the field around the figures, is arranged in two horizontal lines (lines 1–2) above the Bull of Heaven and in two vertical lines (lines 3–4) behind Gilgamesh and Enkidu.

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[269] According to the transliteration made by W.G. Lambert, there is a DINGIR sign after the determinative of the personal name "^{md}*qé-ru-ub-di-ni-ili*" (Lambert 1987, 50 no. 40).

> ‘I will once again [*experience*] the might of the Bull of [Heaven,]
> behind [the Bull] of Heaven I shall […,]
> I will seize [it by the tuft of its tail.]
> I will set [my foot *on the back of* its hock,]
> in … [… *I will* … it.]
> Then [you] like a [butcher (…), brave and] skilful,
> press home your knife between the yoke of the horns and the slaughter-spot.’
> Enkidu circled round behind the Bull of Heaven,
> he seized it by the [tuft] of its tail.
> [He set] his foot *on* [*the back of*] its hock,
> [in …… *he*] … it.
> Then Gilgameš like a butcher [(…)], brave and skilful,
> [pressed home] his knife between the yoke of the horns and the slaughter-spot.
> *The Standard Babylonian Epic of the Gilgamesh Story*, Tablet VI lines 134–146. (GEORGE 2003, 627).
>
> Translation of A.R. George.

Distinct from the Akkadian description in the standard version of the Gilgamesh Epic, on the present seal image, Enkidu does not seize the horn and tail of the winged bull, but its wing. Nevertheless, this depiction, one of the contest scenes, has direct mythological connotations. The slaying of the Bull of Heaven by Gilgamesh and Enkidu is one of the few mythological scenes which can be definitely identified in the glyptic arts and other media.[270] W. G. Lambert has collected pictorial examples of this theme in his paper of 1987. Several other cylinder seals contribute further examples of this topic; among them, the first two (Table 4: 1–2) are Syro-Mitannian[271] and originate presumably from the same workshop, while the others (Table 4: 3–11) are dated to the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods.

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[270] LAMBERT 1987; GREEN 1997, 137–139; ATAÇ 2010B; OPIFICIUS 2010; ORNAN 2010; STEYMANS 2010A, 23–49; STEYMANS 2010B, 298–320. For earlier sources related to Gilgamesh in glyptics and literature, see FRAYNE 1999.

[271] For the question of earlier images depicting the two heroes with a winged bull, see ORNAN 2010, 240–241 and 243 (esp.).

Table 4: The slaying of the Bull of Heaven by Gilgamesh and Enkidu, depicted on seal images.

	MUSEUM NO.	**ORIGIN**	**MATERIAL**	**DIMENSIONS (mm)**
1[272]	MMA 1987.96.8	form. Cherkasky Coll.	"chalcedony"	ht: 18, diam: 10
2[273]	MAH 1874/0.3	Babylon	"quartz rose"	ht: 28, diam: 12
3[274]	SC 1989	Schøyen Coll.	"dark brown agate"	ht: 39, diam: 17
4[275]	BM WA 89435	form. Sargent Coll.	"pale white-blue chalcedony"	ht: 29, diam: 13
5[276]	MFA 65.1663	unknown	"grey chalcedony"	ht: 35.2, diam: 15.9
6[277]	De Clercq Coll.	unknown	"sardoine"	ht: 42, diam: 18
7[278]	MMA 1987.96.10	form. Cherkasky Coll.	"chalcedony"	ht: 34, diam: 14
8[279]	art market	unknown	"red agate"	ht: 17
9[280]	MFA 65.1415	unknown	"orange carnelian"	ht: 22.9, diam: 11.2
10[281]	IAA 65-227	form. Hahn–Voss Coll.	"translucent rock crystal"	ht: 27, diam: 9
11[282]	private coll. in Tübingen in 1960	acquired in Baghdad	"graubraunem Kalkstein"	ht: 31, diam: 16

Finally, it is important to note a bronze beaker discovered in Sarrez, near the country town of Kamyaran, in Iranian Kurdistan, with a similar image.[283] The subject, therefore, can be recognised both within the Assyrian and Babylonian sphere and outside them.[284] The studied seal is included in the Babylonian sphere. Similarly to the Babylonian posture of Enkidu, the surface patterning designating the textile decoration (or embroidery) seems to be a Babylonian particularity.[285] The script in the engraved inscription and the city Raqqatu also attest the Babylonian origin.

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[272] MMA 1987.96.8 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, formerly kept in the Cherkasky Collection): Pittman – Aruz 1987, 68 no. 60; Steymans 2010b, 308 and 445 fig. 17a/b.

[273] MAH 1874/0.3 (Musées d'art et d'histoire de Genève, alleged provenance: Babylon, gift of Alphonse Pictet): Vollenweider 1967, 61 no. 62 and pl. 32: 1–2.

[274] SC 1989 (Schøyen Collection, formerly "the property of a lady"): Christie's (London) 07–12–1994, 106 no. 222; George 2003, 101 fig. 1 and the cover illustration for both volumes; Steymans 2010b, 308 and 446 fig. 18a/b; http://www.schoyencollection.com/literature-collection/assyrian-literature-collection/gilgamesh-cylinder-seal-ms-1989 (accessed 07–09–2018).

[275] BM WA 89435 – 1853–08–22, 6 (British Museum, formerly kept in the Sargent Collection, sold at Sotheby's): Collon 2001, 174 no. 340 and pls. XXVIII and XLII.

[276] MFA 65.1663 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; given by O. Bates, F. Carrington Weems and H.L. Mayer in 1965): Green 1997, 139, 151 fig. 9 and 154 fig. 9; Steymans 2010b, 307 and 444 fig. 16. The cylinder seal with convex ends was studied directly by the author in May 2016.

[277] Formerly kept in the De Clercq Collection: De Clercq – Menant 1888, 195–196 no. 358 and pl. XXXIII.

[278] MMA 1987.96.10 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, formerly kept in the Cherkasky Collection): Pittman – Aruz 1987, 71 no. 69 (inscribed cylinder seal) and 80.

[279] In the case of this cylinder seal, which appeared in an auction catalogue, the question of authenticity definitely arises, and further first-hand study of the item, whose present location is unknown, would also be needed: Christie's (London) 12–12–1984, 82–83 no. 325.

[280] MFA 65.1415 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; given by O. Bates, F. Carrington Weems and H.L. Mayer in 1965): Ataç 2010a, 134–135 fig. 107; Ataç 2010b, 262 and 425 fig. 1. Although this cylinder seal is identified as "Neo-Assyrian" and "authentic" (Ataç 2010b, 262), further first-hand study of this object to verify its authenticity would be needed. The data on its material and measures originate from the website of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/cylinder-seal-163850 (accessed 07–09–2018).

[281] IAA 65-227 (The Israel Museum, Jerusalem; formerly kept in the Hahn-Voss Collection): Ornan 2010, 232–234 no. 2.1 and 411 figs. 1–2.

[282] Private collection of Tübingen: Gamer-Wallert 1997a, 147–149 and 150 figs. 1–2.

[283] Amelirad – Razmpoush 2015, 212–214 no. 4 and fig. 5.

[284] As for the question of Assyrian and/or Babylonian origins and depictions, see Collon 2005^2 [first published in 1987], 181; Wittmann 1992, 201 footnote 174; Collon 2001, 174 no. 340.

[285] For the "dot-in-square band", see Collon 2001, 154–155 (esp.).

As for the represented scenes, we can identify attributive elements and details providing the features of the two figures created, based on samples. According to well-established iconographical conventions, which these images follow, Gilgamesh has a headdress (sometimes a divine one with horns) and a long robe, while Enkidu is half-naked and portrayed without headdress. Thus, proper pose and position attributed to these characters, as well as their clothing and weapons, differentiate Gilgamesh from Enkidu.[286] Furthermore, Gilgamesh can also wear (a) bracelet(s), which may emphasise his civilised nature, contrary to Enkidu with the strong musculature on his naked upper body. They are the reproductions of a model; however, we can take into account the different artistic traditions and local versions of the same topic in the iconography, and likewise its narrative in the Gilgamesh Epic. Moreover, we can mark the tendency of simplification, and accordingly, the uniquely modified iconographic solutions. In the case of the present seal image, a detail situated between the last line of the inscription and Gilgamesh's complex clothing is notable. At first glance, this slightly upright groove, touching the lower edge of the cylinder seal, appears to be intended to separate the scene from the legend. A couple of scenes depicting the slaying of the Bull of Heaven make it clear that Gilgamesh can be dressed in two types of cloak (a longer or a shorter one).[287] A more elaborate example of the longer one allows us to prove that Gilgamesh is dressed in those same clothes in the present image; however, the upright engraving behind Gilgamesh is seemingly without any connection to him, revealing that our example in this respect is only an awkward copy of the original scene, where this detail belongs to Gilgamesh's clothing. Another element is the representation of the foreleg of the bull and Gilgamesh's foot, regarding the disposition of which we can mention two possibilities: the protagonist treads on the front leg of the winged bull, or the extended foreleg of the bull crosses over the hero's left foot.

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[286] Enkidu is armed presumably with a dagger, depicted in his upraised left hand, behind his head, while on other seal images representing the slaying of the Bull of Heaven he holds an axe in the same position:
- present location unknown: LAMBERT 1987, 50 footnote 41 ("sold twice at the Hôtel Drouot: 2–4 May, 1973, lot 759, and 25–27 April 1960, lot 96", "bluish chalcedony", height: 20 mm, diameter: 10 mm) and pl. XI: 26; GAMER-WALLERT 1997A, 147 (footnote 12: the cylinder seal appeared for the third time in Hôtel Drouot [Paris] 13–10–1995, no. 112) and 151 fig. 5;
- Table 4: 3.

[287] The questionable details are discernible on the following seals:
- present location unknown ("seen on the market [photo only]"): LAMBERT 1987, 50 footnote 42 and pl. XI: 27;
- Table 4: 3 (more complex, although the cloak is shorter);
- Table 4: 4 (*ibid.*);
- Table 4: 7 (*ibid.*);
- Table 4: 10 (shorter version of the cloak).

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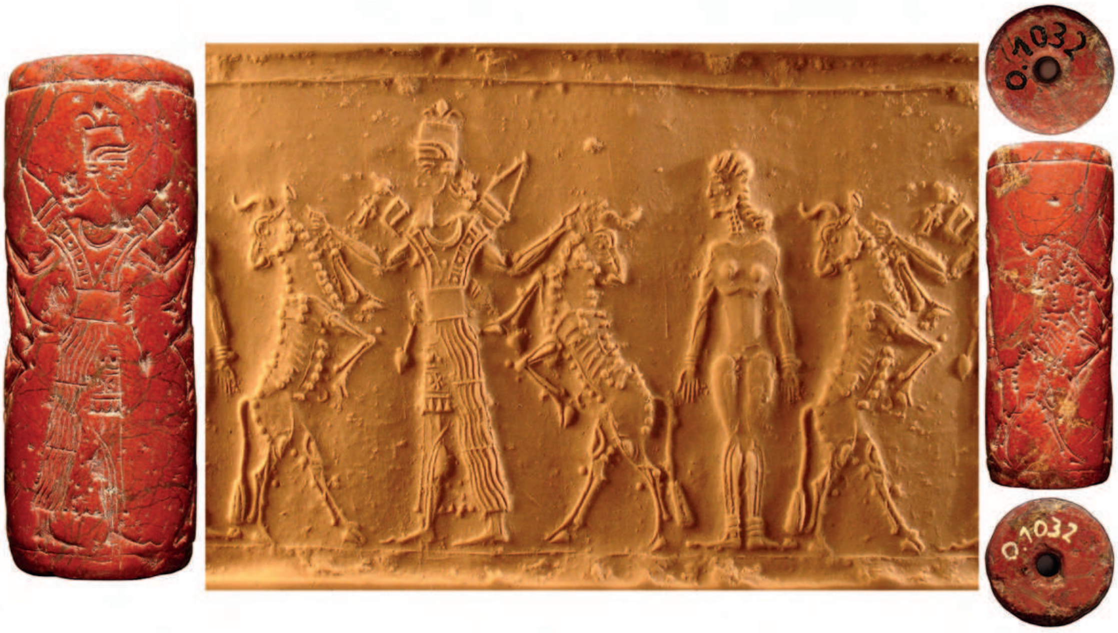
Contest scene (mythological)

Armed god between two rearing bulls, in front of a naked female figure

museum number	O.1032	Plate 21.
material	“pierre rouge veinée de jaune”	
dimensions	height: 45.8 mm, diameter: 17.8 mm, weight: 28.31 g	
condition	The upper and lower edges are slightly damaged, and there are small, scattered faults around the figures.	
provenance	Acquired by A.K. Ebeian in Damascus, 10–11–1932.	
bibliography	Speleers 1943, 121–123 no. 1032; Calmeyer 1973, 168–169 fig. 127; Collon 2005^2 [first published in 1987], 85 no. 397; Gubel 2007d, 224 no. Sceau-cylindre 483.	



This antithetical contest scene, depicted between two borderlines at the top and bottom, represents an armed god between two rearing bulls, with a naked female figure behind him. The barefoot god has a tall, angular headdress with two horns, and the so-called fleur-de-lys decorates its top. Light, engraved lines ending in drill-holes form his beard and his shoulder-length hair. His eyebrow, nose, jaw, and lips are articulated with very fine lines, while his eye is marked with a tiny hole. He wears a broad belt above his tunic, which covers his shoulder and leaves his arms uncovered. The decoration on the lateral sides of his garment consists of a single band of dotted squares, that is, a drill-hole in each panel, arranged in a lengthwise row. Between the neck and a central dot above the belt, there is a crescent moon seemingly worn as jewellery. Below his broad belt, his long, open robe reveals his tunic and his protruding right leg, while a hanging tassel ending in a drill-hole runs in front. The long robe is divided into three tiers formed by striped, wavy lines, and the inner lower edge between the legs is indicated with drill-holes connected by an additional line. The embellishment of the tunic below the belt is comprised of two superimposed panels *above the fringe: the upper one is a dot-in-a-square (similar to the pattern of the upper tunic), while the lower band has a rosette, whose central dot is encircled with six petals. There are two quivers crossed on his shoulders, in which are placed different weapons: in the right-hand quiver, an axe and a mace can be observed, while in the left one, the upper part of a bow can be seen. The lower parts of the quivers, with hanging strings, appear below the barefoot god's elbows. His arms and hands, as well as his right leg and feet, are naturalistically formed, with the highest level of anatomical detail. The divine hero grasps two rampant bulls by their neck fur. The bulls, which have their heads turned backwards, are shaped by a combination of engravings constituting contour lines with frequent drill-holes, designating anatomical features (see e.g. the junction of their legs) and fur. In addition, sharp engravings and strokes mark the ribbing and the musculature. The naked, barefoot female figure is represented with her body facing forward, with lowered hands and open palms, while her head is in profile, and likewise the feet, in an out-toed or "duck feet" orientation. Stripe-lines compose the patterning of her shoulder-length hair and similarly her jewellery: a large necklace completely covering her neck, and bracelets on her wrists and the anklets. Her eye, eyebrow, nose, lips, and jaw are articulated with very fine lines. On her naked, well-proportioned frontal body, naturalistic details such as the breasts and pudenda are indicated with care.*

This combination and composition of shallowly hollowed, silhouette-shaped bodies of small size, drill-holes, and very fine linear-style engravings produces the utmost skill level of seal-cutting in glyptic art of the Neo-Assyrian period and even throughout the history of glyptics. Although the frequent usage of drills is visible in the rendering of the figures, this seal image is basically linear style and presents the peak of that style. Besides its perfection and the various types of tools used, the iconography merits further investigation.

As for the disposition of the figures, we can remark that while the armed god between the two rearing bulls is the central figure, the naked female also fits perfectly in the available field between the two bulls.[288] Despite the fact that the seal image is one of the well-known antithetical contest scenes, whose essence is the depiction of a central person between two animals or hybrid creatures, our divine hero is unique among the dozens of central figures known from similar themes in that he seems to be related directly to the naked female figure, since they are the same size while the two bulls are smaller. Moreover, no female figure seems to be attested in other contest scenes, even though there are a couple of similar figures in contemporary art, as we will see.

There is no consensus or definitive answer regarding the humanoid figures' origin or the content of this particular seal image.[289] The main questions about its iconography refer to the identification of the armed god and the naked woman and to the meaning of the scene. In analysing this depicted scene, it is worth mentioning that it does not provide any filling motif or inscription. Among the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian cylinder seals, only two linear-style seals show close similarities to the present seal image. One of them, formerly kept in the Moore Collection, delineates a winged, naked figure with divine headdress between two *apkallu*s with a crescent moon and a globe with eight rays on its upper field.[290] The position and the detailing of the female figure are closely similar to the present seal, but in the Moore seal she has a divine headdress and wings. The other cylinder seal, kept in the Bibel+Orient Museum, Sammlung der Universität Fribourg,

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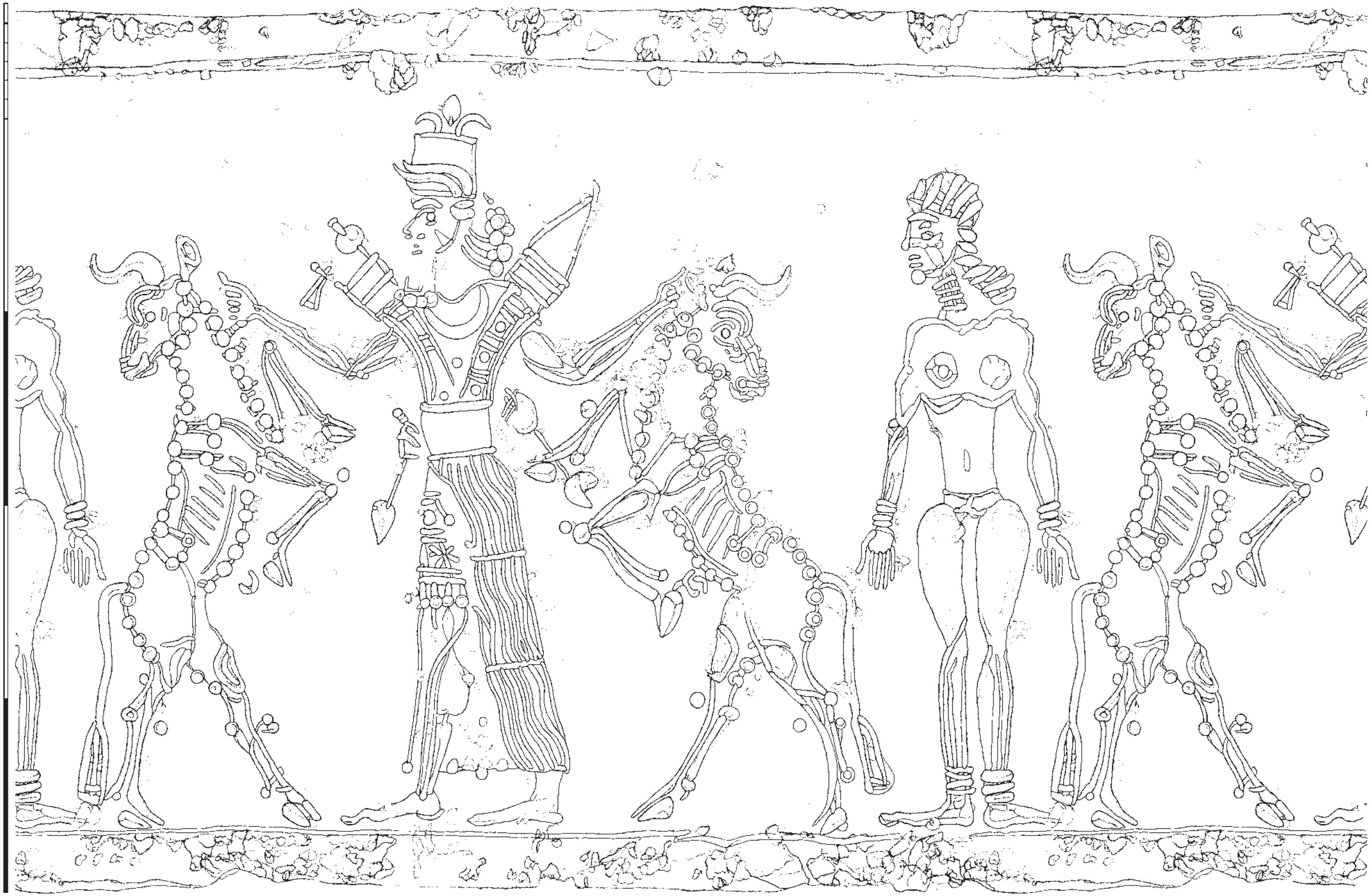
[288] As for the structural arrangement of the figures, the following cylinder seal, depicting a winged hero with two rampant bulls and a winged female figure, attests similarities to the present object:
– AO 22343 (Musée du Louvre, formerly kept in the De Clercq Collection): DE CLERCQ – MENANT 1888, 187 no. 334 ("agate rose", height: 34 mm, diameter: 17 mm) and pl. I.

[289] CALMEYER 1973, 168; COLLON 2005^2 [first published in 1987], 85 no. 397; GUBEL 2007D, 224 no. Sceau-cylindre 483.

[290] L55.49.86 (Eisen 88) (loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art; formerly kept in the Mrs. William H. Moore Collection, under the number Moore 80): EISEN 1940, 53 no. 88 ("serpentine", height: 30 mm, diameter: 13 mm) and pl. X; WILLIAMS-FORTE 1976, no. 54.



displays a contest between a divine hero and an ostrich, and shows a crescent moon and a twelve-pointed star with a globe on the upper field.[291] Although the rendering of this divine figure does not demonstrate the very high skill level of the rendering of the armed god studied here, his anatomical aspect, his headdress, and the details on the shallowly shaped silhouette reflect similar influences and tool usage. Moreover, the so-called *fleur-de-lys* appears on his headdress.

Our divine hero,[292] triumphing over the bulls, has certain distinctive attributes: the horned headdress with the *fleur-de-lys*, the crescent moon at his breast, the well-detailed clothing, and the weapons. Concentrating on these features, we can conclude that, among the antithetical contest scenes in glyptic, this kind of armed god is unknown. He does have close parallels in Gilgamesh depictions; that is, in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian iconography, similar attributive elements, such as the distinctive divine headdress, the weapons (mace, axe, and bow held in the quivers), and the embroidery (that is, the band of dotted squares and the rosette) characterise Gilgamesh. We can suppose that these Gilgamesh representations provide a prototype for our armed figure, which may, however, symbolise a male divine figure par excellence rather than a specific deity.[293]

As for the female figure, previous research tried to relate her to the naked goddess already attested in second millennium B.C. art who originates from the iconography of Syria.[294] It is possible that the present figure is connected to this goddess; however, this figure is portrayed without headdress or wings, and therefore, evidently, there is no reason to deduce a western origin for this woman. Moreover, it is important to emphasise that, although the naked goddess is well known in second millennium B.C. art of the Near East, the art of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods produced only a very few naked females illustrated without wings and divine headdress; among the cylinder seals, only a small, secondary figure on a seal image matching this description is known by the present author.[295] Besides them, there is a particular group of females delineated with a naked frontal body in the art of the period; however, they too wear wings and divine headdress.[296] Nevertheless, the present figure does show similarities to stamp seals originating from the palace context, discovered in the North-West Palace in Kalḫu: Tomb I (fig. 4: a)[297] and vaulted corridor under Room 74 (fig. 4: B).[298] These figures provide near-parallels to our naked female in terms of stylistic details, body position, proportions, and jewellery. In addition, it is worth examining a specific stamp seal which was published early, in 1908, but came to be forgotten in the research (fig. 5).

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[291] VR 1992.9 (Bibel+Orient Museum, Sammlung der Universität Fribourg, formerly kept in the Colville Collection): Keel-Leu – Teissier 2004, 169–170 no. 159 ("Marmor … dunkelbeiger", height: 46 mm, diameter: 17.4 mm) and 438 (pl.) (dates to the Neo-Assyrian period, 11th–10th centuries B.C.); Collon 1998, 27 no. 1 (dates to the Neo-Assyrian period, probably 8th century B.C.).

[292] From the Neo-Assyrian art, relief NA/9/74 from the "Shalmaneser Building" (SB), entrance "f", in Kalḫu provides similar figure. The upper half of this contest scene illustrating a wingless hero between two lions is missing, but the hero's posture, long robe and tunic with its details are similar to our figure (Sobolewski 1982, 331–333, figs. 5 and 8).

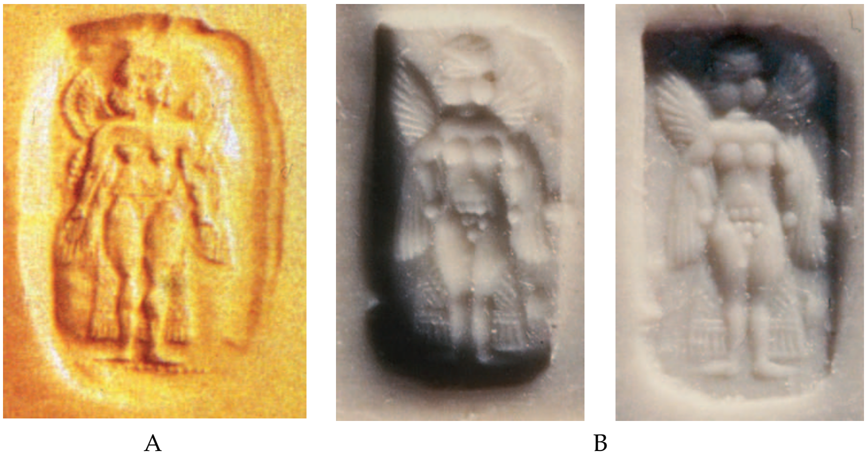
[293] Calmeyer 1973, 168 concludes with regard to the depicted theme that "Das Bezwingen von Stieren in Gegenwart einer nackten Frau könnte eine Variante des uns aus dem Epos bekannten Streits zwischen Gilgameš und Ištar sein." For further interpretations related to the iconography of the Gilgamesh story and the question of their identification based on the iconographic sources, see footnote 270.

[294] According to Collon 2005^{2} [first published in 1987], 85 no. 397: "the nude goddess … is totally foreign to Assyria" and E. Gubel adds that "une déesse nue … constitute clairement un élément levantin ajouté à une composition assyrienne" (Gubel 2007d, 224 no. Sceau-cylindre 483). For the figure of the naked goddess, see Uehlinger 1998; Wiggermann 1998.

[295] Present whereabouts unknown: Opificius 1968, 34 no. 70 ("rötlichgrauer Kalkstein", height: 40 mm, diameter: 16 mm).

[296] For the glyptics and other media, primarily the Neo-Assyrian palace art, see Bartl 2012; Bartl 2014, 36–37 and figs. 14–15. Regarding the glyptics, see for example:
– **44**;
– formerly kept in the Surena Collection: Christie's (New York) 11–06–2001, 65 no. 511.

[297] ND 1988.25 – IM 108986 (Iraq Museum; from Kalḫu): Hussein – Suleiman 2000, fig. 13; al-Gailani Werr 2008, 155 fig. 19-a ("onyx"); Bartl 2012, 35–36 fig. 3a; Hussein – Altaweel – Gibson 2016, 6, 62 ("banded agate" stamp seal in the form of recumbent bull with a gold cord around its neck, large: 24 mm, width: 16 mm) and pl. 13: d.



Figs. 4 (A–B): Modern impression of a stamp seal in the form of a recumbent bull (A) (see footnote 297) and modern impression of a stamp seal in the form of a recumbent calf (B) (see footnote 298). Photographs (A–B) are published here by the permission of Dr Lamia al-Gailani Werr (†).

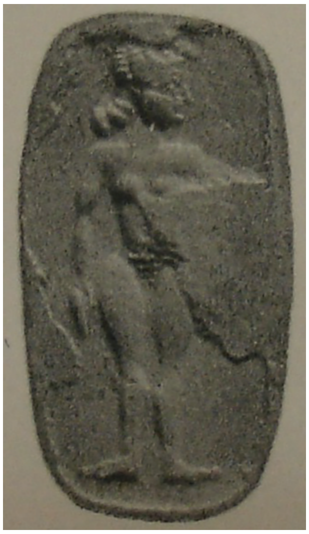


Fig. 5: Modern impression of a stamp seal in the form of a lion couchant formerly kept in the Southesk Collection (based on Carnegie 1908, I, pl. XVII: O 32).

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[298] ND 1992.14 – IM 127555 (Iraq Museum; from Kalḫu): Hussein – Abdul-Razaq 1997/98, 175 fig. 41; al-Gailani Werr 2008, 155 fig. 19-b ("onyx"); Bartl 2012, 35–36 fig. 3b; Hussein – Altaweel – Gibson 2016, 50, 165 ("agate", stamp seal in the form of a recumbent calf with gold cords attached around the neck and holding a gold bell, height: 9 mm, large: 60 mm, width: 13–16 mm) and pl. 192: e.

A stamp seal formerly kept in an anonymous ("Anon.") collection was acquired by James Carnegie, the ninth Earl of Southesk K.T. (1827–1905) through Mr W. Talbot Ready ("Wtr.") at Sotheby's on May 17, 1893 (Lot). Carnegie's catalogue provides a description[299] and a photograph of a modern seal impression (fig. 5). It mentions the following about this specimen, whose present whereabouts are unknown: [300]

– shape: "Seal, in form of a lion couchant."
– material: "sapphirine chalcedony"
– dimensions and condition: "obl. 7 × 3½ (right edge chipped, left edge fractured, left arm effaced, lion's muzzle wanting)"
– description: "ISTAR, standing full front, head in profile (*fr*.[front] and *r*.[right]) … For several reasons a remarkable gem. First, its form is unusual, being that of a couched lion, like the metal lion-weights. … Secondly, an absolutely naked female figure is of the rarest occurrence on Assyrian or Mesopotamian engraved stones … In the present case the details are as minutely and peculiarly realistic as those on certain figures engraved on ivory which may be seen in the British Museum. Thirdly, while the body and legs are exceedingly awkward, the head and face are almost handsome, the latter, in profile, being finely outlined and of dignified expression. I highly prize this gem and cannot but believe it to be valuable of its class." (CARNEGIE 1908, I, 208 no. O 23).

The striking parallel between the two naked female figures is apparent, since the figure from the Southesk seal is closest in design to the shaping and detailing of our example. Although the left arm on the Southesk seal is omitted because of damage (similarly to the field around it), seemingly the figure does not hold any object, and the field does not include any filling motifs. The provenance of the artefact is unknown, not unlike that of our present specimen; however, their particular shapes and the quality of their iconography may allow us to connect them to the aforementioned examples discovered in the North-West Palace in Kalḫu (fig. 4: A–B).

In sum, we can conclude that the female character depicted here and her possible symbolic role make it likely that she can be associated with the naked goddesses of second millennium B.C. Syria, from which her influence in Mesopotamia may originate. This figure certainly personifies the female ideal through the emphasis on the anatomical details (narrow waist, wide hips and thighs, fine legs, and open palms), as well as the jewellery. In this respect, a terracotta portraying a naked woman in the same body position and with the same jewellery can be recalled.[301] Analogically to the armed god, who seems to be connected to Gilgamesh as described above, this female figure can be connected to Ištar and to her role in beauty and love in particular. The nakedness, the frontal body position with profile head, and the jewellery characterise her silhouette. This interpretation does not go so far as to attach the present seal image to the Gilgamesh cycle, but an association between the characters is plausible. It is worth mentioning that in the imagery, the collective appearance of the figures and their actions allow us to identify them. Further, although there are neither filling motifs nor inscriptions on this unprovenanced seal, besides the very elaborate iconography, the rare material and dimensions clearly indicate its high importance. The relation between the figures and their attributive elements can help shed light on their meaning, and the collected examples allow us to connect this object to the Neo-Assyrian palace sphere.

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[299] CARNEGIE 1908, I, 208 no. O 23.

[300] As for the later history of the collection, Helena M. Carnegie – who edited the manuscript for publication after her father's death in 1905 – noted in the "Preface" (xiv): "… sixteen of the gems comprised in the Catalogue are marked as being no longer in the collection. As, however, the majority of these have only been removed since my father's death and remain in the possession of members of his family …".

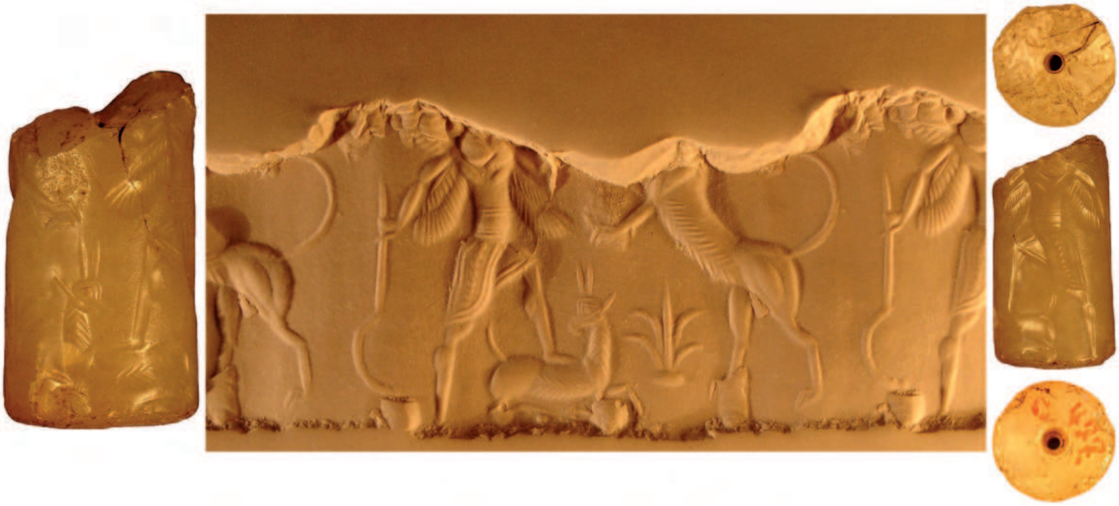
[301] "Mouldmade terracotta model bed with reclining nude female; perhaps from southwest Iran; c. 1500–1200 bc; 13 cm long" (Ash. 1965.757). For discussion of this object, with further bibliography, see MOOREY 2003, 32–34 and pl. 8.

40

Contest scene

Winged hero grasping a rearing lion and resting one foot on a reclining wild goat below

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.477
MATERIAL	"pierre blanche, opaque$^{?}$"
DIMENSIONS	height: 31.4 mm (the upper part of the cylinder seal has been broken off), diameter: 17.5 mm, weight: 14.71 g
CONDITION	The upper part is broken and jagged, while the lower edge is slightly chipped, with three larger chips around it, and there is one fault around the lowered forepaw and another at the meeting of the hind legs of the lion.
PROVENANCE	According to L. Speleers's descriptions (Speleers 1920, 14; Speleers 1923a, 20), l'abbé de Genouillac acquired the cylinder seals (O.469–503) in Syria during his travels of 1911–12. The museum bought this lot in Paris (1913).
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Speleers 1917, 183 no. 477; Speleers 1920, 29 and pl. XI; Danthine 1937, 269 fig. 815 and pl. 124: 815; Porada 1947, 150–151 and pl. III (fig. 7); Porada 1948, 94 note 39; Williams-Forte 1981a, 144 no. 105; Wittmann 1992, 260 no. 49 and pl. 22; Collon 2001, 159 no. 302.



This three-figured contest scene depicts a clash between a barefoot winged hero facing right and a rampant lion, in which the winged hero is depicted in Babylonian posture, resting his left foot on the back of a small recumbent wild goat. The hero's head and upper wings are completely missing except for the lower part of the right wing, of which the feathers are partly visible above the shoulder. The lowered wings have two rows of feathers with a framing edge above. The hero wears a belted tunic below the skirt, which has double-line edging and a row of dots running lengthwise. The edges of his broad striped belt are marked by a double line. He holds a scimitar with its head curving inwards in his lowered right hand while his left hand grasps the right forepaw of the rampant lion, although this is not shown due to the broken part. The lion is reared up on its hind legs, the end of its tail curls up, and the claws are indicated by short, sharpened strokes on *the paws.*[302] *The mane is depicted with longer strokes on the chest and above the shoulder, which are visible at the broken upper edge, while a row of inverted V-shapes marks the fur along the belly.*[303] *The same inverted V-shapes depict the fur on the neck and belly of the recumbent wild goat, which has its head turned back and raises its left foreleg. The goat has an outlined drill-hole eye. The cactus-like plant under the belly of the lion is the only motif which could symbolise the landscape of the contest scene, of which the upper field is missing.*

This kind of contest scene, that is, the triangular arrangement of the three figures, whose essence is the clash between a (winged) hero and a lion or human-headed lion above a small crouching or reclining animal, is established in the Middle Assyrian glyptics. These modelled-style contest scenes may provide the prototype of the presented Neo-Babylonian triangular contest scene; however, the protagonist is already depicted in Babylonian posture here. The present seal image is characterised by the minute surface patterning and the perfection of the seal-cutting of the row of dots running lengthwise on the skirt of the hero as well as the inverted V-shaped elements on the lion's belly and the head of the reclining wild goat.

Establishing the characteristics of the Neo-Babylonian style, E. Porada cited this delicately modelled seal following the MFA 27.651 cylinder seal kept in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which constitutes the starting point of her pioneering study, published in 1947.[304] The winged hero represented in Babylonian posture (e.g. fig. 6) is one of the main motifs of these depictions, the main criteria of which were collected by D. Collon.[305] Although the typical features of the style, the depicted themes, the techniques, and the materials of these Babylonian seals are defined, the question of their exact dating and precise location remains unanswered.[306] Regarding the present seal, there are several characteristics, including the execution of some details, which allow us to identify parallels of the three-figured contest scene. Among them,[307] a similar skirt and posture of

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[302] For a winged lion on a similar contest scene depicting a triangular arrangement of the three figures (fig. 6):
– L-29-495A – F-29-6-188-136 – HIL.CAT.182 (Philadelphia Museum of Art, permanent loan in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, formerly kept in the Hilprecht Collection): WEBER 1920, vol. 1: 88 and vol. 2: pl. 63: fig. 307: Hilprecht 182 assyr(isch) I 2 (height: 26.3 mm, diameter: 12.9 mm – studied directly in May 2016 by the author).

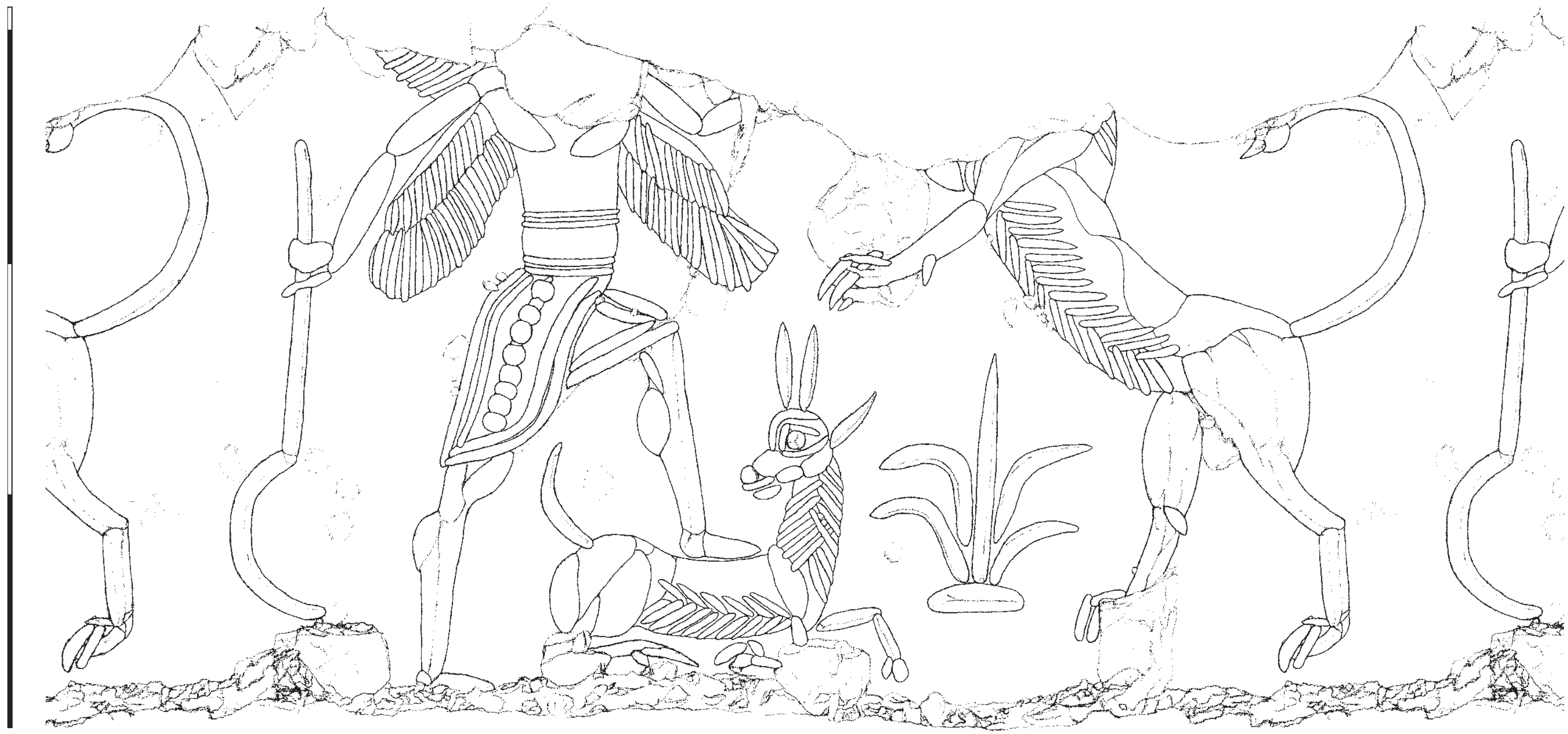
[303] The row of inverted V-shapes indicating the fur on the lion's belly is the main feature of the *Panthera leo persica*, which has this abdominal fold.

[304] MFA 27.651 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston): PORADA 1947, 149–157 and pl. III: fig. 3 ("chalcedony", height: 38.3 mm, diameter: 15.0 mm – studied directly in May 2016 by the author).

[305] COLLON 2001, 154–155.

[306] Among the antithetical contest scenes, U. 18240 cylinder seal depicts a winged hero between a lion and a human-headed winged lion and attests similar characteristics (*i.e.*, the posture of the lion and the human-headed winged lion and their details, or the landscape featuring cactus-like plants); however, the hero's skirt is decorated with bands of dotted squares:
– U. 18240 (Iraq Museum; from Ur): LEGRAIN 1951, 43 no. 610 ("carnelian", height: 32 mm, diameter: 18 mm) and pl. 36.
For a similar, but unprovenanced, antithetical contest scene in which the hero is depicted without wings and divine headdress:
– Christie's (South Kensington, London) 13–05–2003, 170–171 no. 303 ("burnt chalcedony", height: 35 mm).

[307] MNK-IV G-18 (Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie): REICHE 2011, 323 fig. 10 ("Bergkristall", height: 25 mm, diameter: 12 mm). Furthermore, simplified versions of the depicted scene are known from the following seals that do have provenance:
– Orientalisches Seminar der Universität Köln (from Tell Halaf): VON OPPENHEIM – HROUDA 1962, 35 no. 36 ("Serpentin", height: 38 mm, diameter: 15 mm) and pl. 25: 36;
– Bahrain National Museum (from Al-Hajjar, site 2): BEYER 1989, 160 no. 300; POTTS 2010, 33 no. 85 and fig. 12: 85 ("chalcedony", height: 20 mm, diameter: 12 mm). Although on this Neo-Babylonian contest scene the winged hero is depicted between two human-headed winged lions and wears a long robe, he is represented in Babylonian posture resting his left foot on the back of a small recumbent wild goat, and there is a cactus-like plant behind him.
Among the two-figured contest scenes (*i.e.*, the standing figure against a rampant lion), the following seal depicts a hero similar in terms of his clothing, with the row of dots running lengthwise; the lower body of the lion, including the inverted V-shapes representing the fur, is also identical to that of the lion on the present seal:
– BM WA 102056 – 1905–12–9, 4 (British Museum, acquired from I. Élias Géjou): COLLON 2001, 158 no. 298 ("chalcedony: pale grey", height: 35 mm, diameter: 15 mm) and pl. XXV.



the winged hero as well as a rampant lion with a reclining wild goat appear on a cylinder seal kept in the Vorderasiatisches Museum.[308]

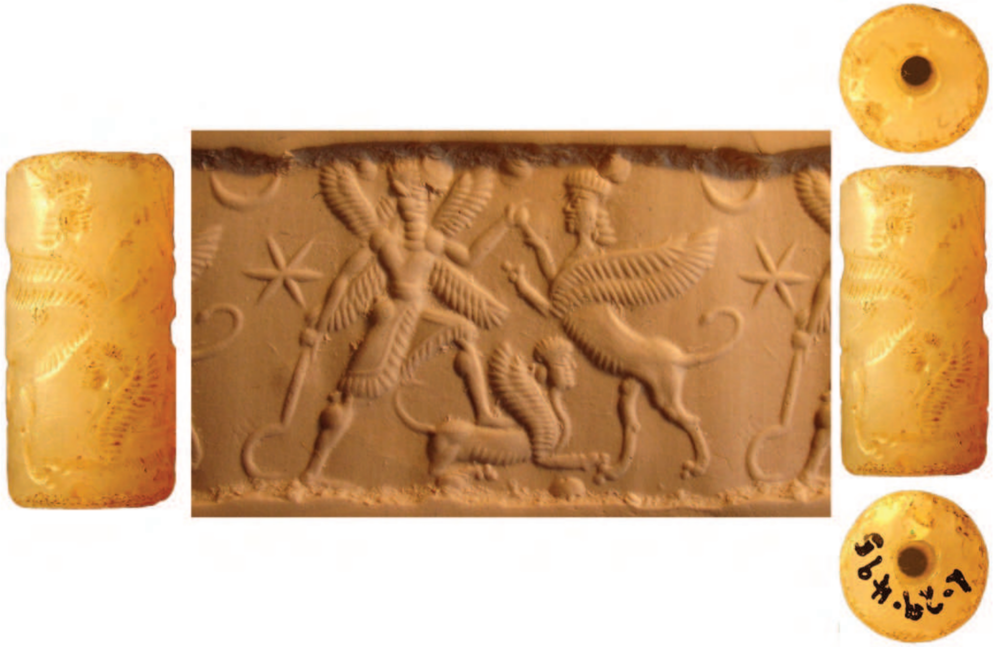


Fig. 6: L-29-495A cylinder seal (height: 38.3 mm, diameter: 15.0 mm) and its modern impression (see footnote 302).

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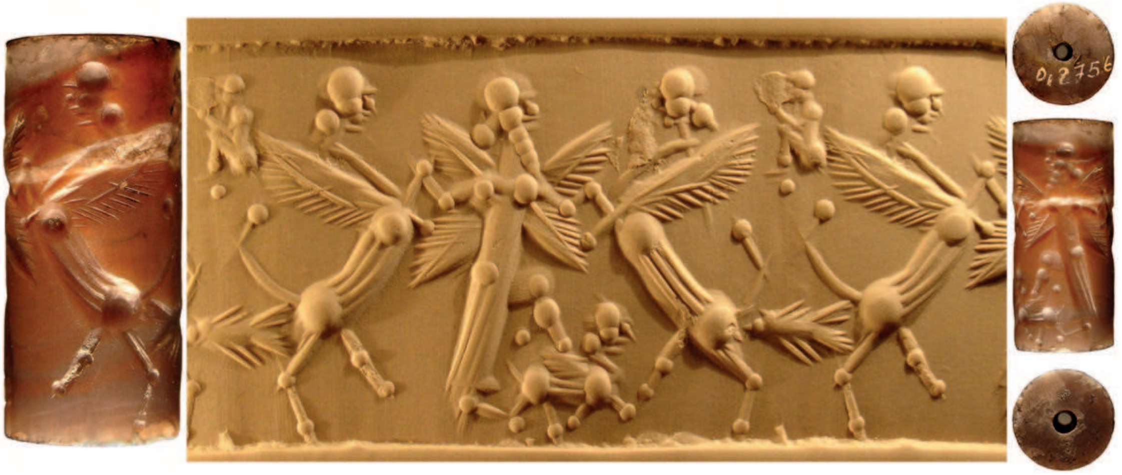
[308] VA 693 (Vorderasiatisches Museum, from a private collection): MOORTGAT 1940, 141 no. 612 ("Achat") and pl. 73 (height: 22.9 mm, diameter: 10.8 mm – studied directly by the present author in September 2013).

41

CONTEST SCENE

Winged hero grasping two rampant human-headed lions and one walking human-headed lion below him

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2756	Plates 17 and 19.
MATERIAL		
DIMENSIONS	height: 31.4 mm, diameter: 13.8 mm, weight: 11.50 g	
CONDITION	There is a fault in front of the monkey's head and another is in front of the right-hand human-headed lion's head.	
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection, 11–10–1958.	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.	



A winged hero, represented in Babylonian posture, rests his left foot on the back of a small human-headed lion while he grasps two rampant human-headed lions by their forelegs. The bearded hero has a rounded, dome-shaped headdress with a brim, and, below it, his hair partly overlaps his upper wing. He is dressed in a long robe, which is open, revealing his protruding, raised left leg. His four, unevenly sized wings consist of horizontally arranged feathers with a framing edge. The upper wings are framed above, while the lower ones are, unusually, framed below. The small, walking human-headed lion's wing is indicated by four almost horizontal lines, while the two rampant human-headed lions' single wings are shaped similarly to the hero's wings but are longer than them. The rampant human-headed lions rear up one of their hind legs, while the other is raised in a somewhat awkward way. The ends of their tails curl up similarly to that of the walking creature. Behind the two rearing creatures, in the upper field, there is a crouching monkey[309] *with a drill-hole below his leg, and a fish, also facing left, is depicted at the height of their haunches.*

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[309] Although the monkey depicted without tail has no particular attributes, this identification can be accepted due to the similar examples:
- Del. 324 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, gift of the collection of the Pauvert de la Chapelle in 1899): DELAPORTE 1910, 180–181 no. 324 ("jaspe jaune-brun", height: 25 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and pl. XXII;
- AO 2616 (Musée du Louvre, acquired in 1893): DELAPORTE 1923, 164–165 no. 10 (A.654) ("cornaline blonde", height: 29 mm, diameter: 13 mm) and pl. 87: 10;

The figures are characterised by the silhouette-shaped bodies, which are articulated by longitudinal grooves and end in large-scale drill-holes. The heads consist of a combination of different-sized drill-holes marking the end of their noses and chins, while the brims of the headdresses and their mouths are indicated by strokes. The winged hero's hands, elbows, and shoulder are articulated with drill-holes and connected with engravings, a combination that provides an angular effect. The human-headed lions are depicted with globe-tipped legs and tails. Their articulations are marked with drill-holes. Moreover, the omission of the upright lines is noted; it can be explained by the difficulty of making lines in this direction compared to the horizontal and oblique lines. This is seemingly the reason for the horizontal feathers on the lower wings of the hero. In sum, these particular executions, which attest limited forms and simplified technology, result in a high degree of stylisation; however, the rendering also reflects the style of expression. Among the similar cut-style seal images,[310] the studied example constitutes a relatively complex scene which provides a triangular arrangement of the four figures, among them a central figure represented in Babylonian posture. Similarly to the other images in the same stylistic group, the exact dating of the studied seal is questionable; however, we can assume that the location of the workshop was in Babylonia.

– formerly kept in the Erlenmeyer Collection: ERLENMEYER – ERLENMEYER 1962, 296–297, 312 fig. 77 (height: 28 mm, diameter: 15 mm) and pl. LIII: fig. 77;

– Del. 382 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, formerly kept in the Lajard Collection, acquired in 1844): DELAPORTE 1910, 213–214 no. 382 ("calcédoine laiteuse", height: 34 mm, diameter: 18 mm) and pl. XXV;

– formerly kept in the collection of Natasha Rambova: Sotheby's (London) 10 and 11–12–1992, 30 and 38 no. 84 ("agate", height: 36 mm, diameter: 15 mm);

– **22** in the present catalogue.

[310] BM WA 132847 – 1960–5–17, 19 (British Museum, "Ex Lionel Cooper Collection"): COLLON 2001, 182–183 no. 364 ("quartz, chalcedony: grey-brown … ends slightly convex", height: 38 mm, diameter: 15 mm) and pl. XXXI (with further examples).

V.

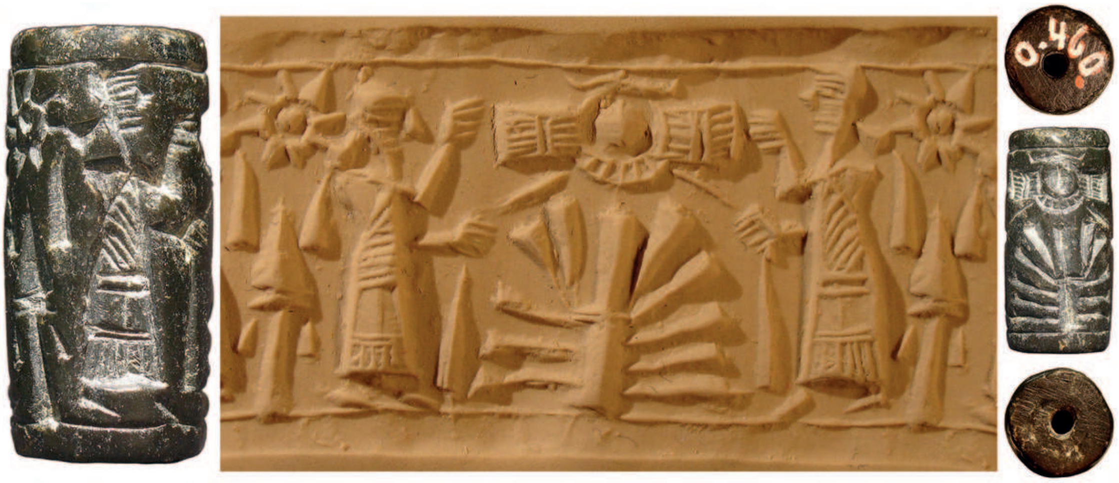
Ritual Scenes (42–48)

42

Ritual scene

Two worshippers flanking a stylised tree depicted as a palmette below a winged sun-disc

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.460
MATERIAL	“pierre noire”
DIMENSIONS	height: 30.0 mm, diameter: 14.7 mm (slightly barrel-shaped), weight: 10.67 g
CONDITION	The hole is unevenly drilled from the two ends, and there is a small divergence at their meeting point. There are faults above the upper borderline.
PROVENANCE	According to L. Speleers’s descriptions (Speleers 1920, 14; Speleers 1923a, 20), l’abbé de Genouillac acquired several cylinder seals (O.414–468) in Baghdad during his travels of 1911–12. The museum bought this lot in Paris (1913).
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Speleers 1917, 186 no. 460; Speleers 1920, 30 and pl. XI; Danthine 1937, 266 fig. 435 and pl. 68: 435.



This antithetical composition, depicted between two borderlines at the top and bottom, represents two worshippers, one at either side of a stylised tree with a winged sun-disc above it. The bearded worshippers seemingly wear rounded headdresses, and thin engraved lines designate their eyebrows, eyes, lips and jaws. From their shoulder-length hair, tassels hang down. They are dressed in long robes which have fringes at *the waist and fringed lower edges. They raise their hands towards the emblematical central motif while their other hands, positioned at the level of their waist, grasp the streamers which hang down from the winged sun-disc. This symbol has an outlined central disc bordered by a simplified volute at the top, and a curved line is connected to it by short engraved lines at the bottom. On either side of the disc there is an outlined wing with thin horizontal lines which are divided into two equal parts by two upright lines.*[311] *The falling streamers*[312] *of the sun-disc frame the stylised tree, of which the central, upright part has been halved by two horizontal lines. The lower half is the trunk, while the upper one constitutes the central branch (or leaf), and ten similarly shaped branches (or leaves), arranged in two rows on both sides of the trunk, surround it, creating a palmette. Behind the two standing figures in the sky, there is a star formed by a globe with eight rays, and a tasselled spade (Marduk's symbol) is depicted below it.*

The theme and execution of this seal image attest the main characteristics of the Neo-Assyrian linear-style ritual scenes. In the case of this emblematical depiction it is important to note the intention to produce a symmetrical composition, in which the stylised tree surmounted by the winged sun-disc is the focal point. In this structural arrangement, the scene presents a twofold rotational symmetry around the upright central element of the symmetrical stylised tree with the winged sun-disc, constituting a vertical axis. Although the height of the two worshippers (the right-hand figure's head touches the upper borderline) and the surface patterning of their clothes (the arrangement of their fringes at the waist) are not identical, all of the elements, including the filling motifs (globe with eight rays and tasselled spade) behind them, are arranged on the base of this twofold horizontal rotation. In Neo-Assyrian art, a palace sculpture of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) presenting the same theme (though not the twofold rotational symmetry)[313] already reflects this arrangement, and so the present example and similar Neo-Assyrian seals should therefore be datable from its date: their manufacture seemingly happened during the 9th or 8th century B.C. For a similar example related to the depicted theme and execution of the main figures in glyptic art, there is a cylinder seal kept in the Morgan Library & Museum,[314] though it depicts the Sibitti and a crescent moon.

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[311] For a similarly shaped winged sun-disc depicted on another linear-style ritual scene:
– Morgan 644 (Morgan Library & Museum): PORADA 1948, 77 no. 644 ("yellow marble", height: 37 mm, diameter: 14 mm) and pl. XCIII.

[312] The broadening lower ends of the streamers, below the worshippers' hands, are shaped similarly to the towels in the linear-style banquet scenes (see *e.g.* **49**).

[313] *E.g.* MEUSZYŃSKI 1981, pl. 1: 2 B–23.

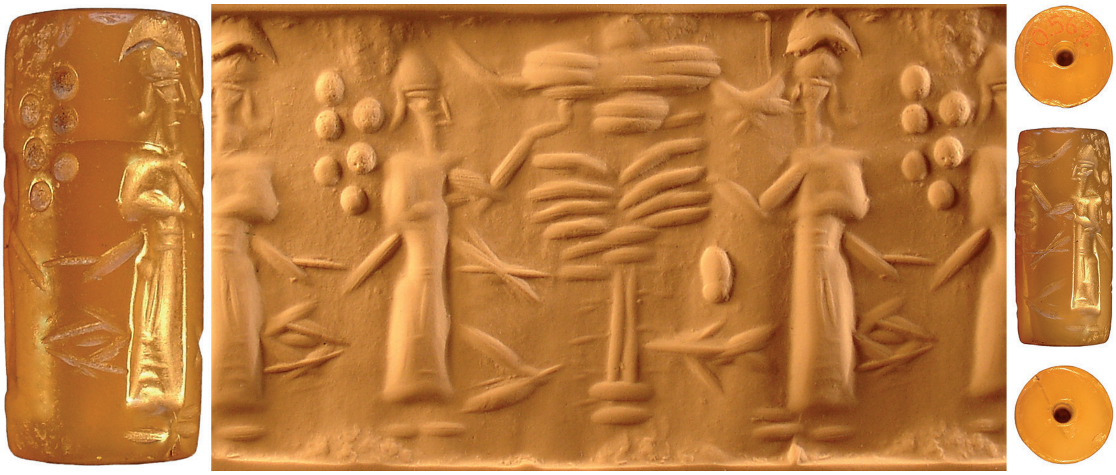
[314] Morgan 645 (Morgan Library & Museum): PORADA 1948, 77 no. 645 ("black serpentine", height: 19.5 mm, diameter: 9 mm) and pl. XCIII.

43

Ritual scene

Two worshippers flanking a palm tree below a winged sun

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.567
MATERIAL	“roche opaque brunâtre”
DIMENSIONS	height: 29.1 mm, diameter: 13.0 mm (slightly barrel-shaped), weight: 8.86 g
CONDITION	One fault distorts the uppermost globe of the Sibitti, and another fault partly covers the headdress of the right-hand worshipper. There is an ovoid chip between his outstretched hand and the fish. Furthermore, there is a horizontal engraving behind the two worshippers’ swords, and a prolongation of this engraving runs across the four-pointed star in front of the left-hand worshipper. Another, oblique engraving distorts the lower part of the rhomb.
PROVENANCE	According to L. Speleers’s descriptions (Speleers 1920, 14; Speleers 1923a, 20), l’abbé de Genouillac acquired several cylinder seals (O.469–593) in Syria during his travels of 1911–12. The museum bought this lot in Paris (1913).
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Speleers 1917, 186–187 no. 567; Danthine 1937, 264 fig. 151 and pl. 25: 151.



This antithetical ritual scene represents two worshippers on either side of a palm tree below a winged sun. The trunk of the palm tree is formed by two upright engraved lines with a narrow space between them, and its upper and lower ends are bordered by two short lines. The foliage consists of eight slightly curved lines arranged in two rows on both sides. Above the palm tree there is a deeply shaped winged sun whose two wings and tail are overcut with engraved lines of different lengths. Unusual, even unexplainable iconographical solutions are evidenced regarding the choice and execution of the filling motifs. In the sky, there are the Sibitti (whose uppermost globe is distorted by a large fault), a crescent moon (whose right third is covered by the winged sun). One such unusual motif, seemingly an irregular six-pointed star at the right-hand side of the winged sun. Below the left-hand worshipper’s outstretched arm there is a simplified, four-pointed star (bisected by an engraving which seems to be continued behind or between the swords of the two worshippers). Beside the palm *tree's trunk, there is a fish on the right side and an unfinished fly*[315] *or a half rhomb (left in unfinished form) on the left side. Behind the two worshippers, there is a small rhomb (distorted by an engraving).*

Following the compositional rules whose essence is twofold rotational symmetry around the central motifs, the worshipper on the left raises his left hand, while the other with his right hand gestures at the central emblem, and their other hands are positioned at the height of their waists. The bodies of the worshippers are similarly represented; however, they are different characters, based on the detailing of their heads. The left-hand worshipper has a conical headdress while the other has a rounded headdress. The contour of the left-hand worshipper's eye is almond-shaped, with a drill-hole in the middle, and his mouth is unmarked, while the right-hand figure's eye forms a triangle with his nose, and small strokes mark his lips. The execution of the worshippers' lower bodies testifies to the poor skills of the seal-cutter(s), since the right-hand worshipper's forward foot has been corrected, while the excessive distance between the left-hand worshipper's feet and the lower edge of his robe also shows the artisan's low competence. Although the belt and its fringes are recognisable, its surface lines can hardly be seen because of the deeply engraved body silhouettes. The two short engraved lines below the left side of the foliage are seemingly badly arranged elements which disrupt the image's symmetrical form. As for the winged sun, whose central disc is missing, the uneven and disproportionate engraved lines could be explained also by the seal-cutter's low competence; however, the choice of a palm tree[316] instead of a schematic stylised tree, the distinctive character of the flanking worshippers,[317] and the selected motifs (though they are executed poorly) suggests that this seal image is not merely a simplified version of well-known ritual scenes, but instead that the seal-cutter(s) selected them intentionally. It should be noted that the unfamiliar characteristics do not cast doubt on the authenticity of the seal image, which can be dated to the early Neo-Assyrian period based on the shaping of the worshippers (mainly the left-hand worshipper's conical headdress and face, with its almond-shaped eye with a drill-hole in the middle).[318]

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[315] For more detailed fly depictions:
– Buffalo Museum of Science (gift of Mr. and Mrs. Chauncey J. Hamlin): INGHOLT 1944, 10–11 no. 26;
– formerly kept in the Erlenmeyer Collection: ERLENMEYER – ERLENMEYER 1962, 296, 312 fig. 79 (height: 24 mm, diameter: 13 mm) and pl. LIII: fig. 79; Sotheby's (London) 09–07–1992, 120–121 no. 207 ("carnelian", height: 22 mm, diameter: 11 mm).

[316] The following cylinder seal provides a similar palm tree, though its branches terminate in single drill-holes:
– AO 7163 (Musée du Louvre): DELAPORTE 1923, 167 no. A. 693 ("calcédoine blonde", height: 23 mm, diameter: 13 mm) and pl. 89: 1.

[317] It is interesting to note two ritual scenes which depict a palm tree between two worshippers whose characters are different, due to their detailing, from those in the present seal:
– CBS 5034 (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology; acquired in Baghdad in 1890): LEGRAIN 1925, 304 no. 592 ("chalcedony", cylinder seal with convex ends, height: 23.5 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and pl. XXXI;
– BM WA 89861 – R 183 (British Museum, formerly kept in the Rich Collection, acquired in 1825): COLLON 2001, 119 no. 223 ("quartz, chalcedony: very pale grey", height: 22 mm, diameter: 18.5 mm) and pl. XVIII.

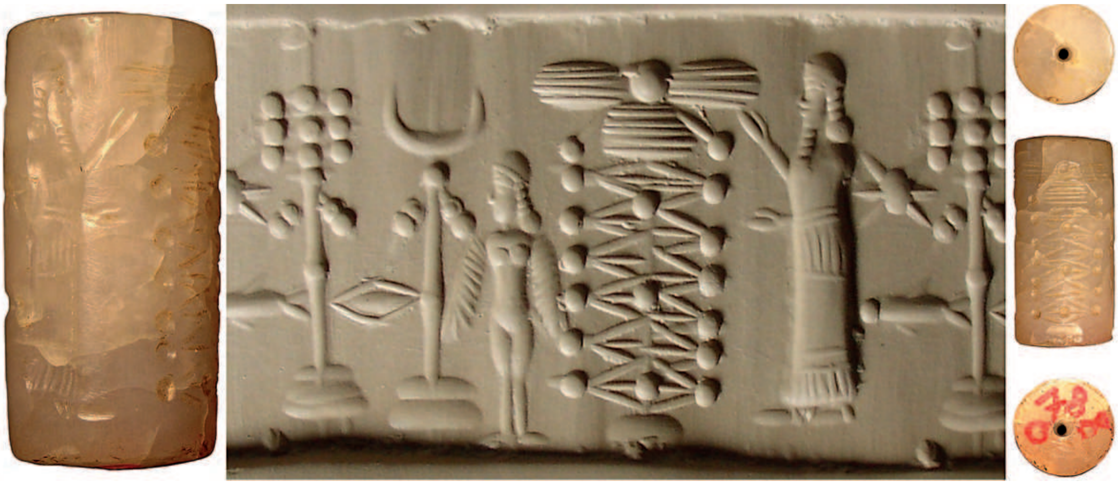
[318] For more detailed faces and headdresses depicted similarly on Middle Assyrian seals, see (*e.g.*):
– BM WA 134305 – 1963,1014.1 (British Museum, "acquired from Mr Kemal Altınören"): PORADA (†) – COLLON 2016, 126–127 no. MA 12 ("quartz, carnelian: orange-pink", height: 24.3 mm, diameter: 13.3 mm) and pls. 23 and 34–35;
– BM WA 141776 – 1965,0101.13 (British Museum, "presented by O. Burchard"): PORADA (†) – COLLON 2016, 130 no. MA 23 ("quartz, jasper: brown, speckled yellow-brown, veined pink and red [carnelian])", height: 43.5 mm, diameter: 15.4 mm) and pls. 24 and 57;
– BM WA 141663 – 1997,0430.22 (British Museum, "one of a group of seals deposited in the museum before 1930"): PORADA (†) – COLLON 2016, 131 no. MA 28 ("quartz, carnelian: red-brown, containing black, whitish and colourless inclusions", height: 37 mm, diameter: 14.9 mm) and pls. 24, 58, and 66.

44

Ritual (and cultic) scene

Worshipper in front of a stylised tree with a winged sun-disc, a winged naked goddess, and divine emblems

museum number	O.788
material	"calcédoine"
dimensions	height: 28.0 mm, diameter: 13.6 mm (slightly barrel-shaped with convex ends), weight: 9.68 g
condition	There are faults on the upper and lower edges, and chips on the lower end of the cylinder seal.
provenance	There is no documentation in the museum archive regarding the circumstances of the object, acquired in 1928 or 1929.
bibliography	Speleers 1929, 62–65; Danthine 1937, 69 footnote 2, 96 footnote 1, 266 fig. 439 and pl. 68: 439; Speleers 1943, 116–117 no. 788; Giovino 2007, 114 footnote 300 (esp.), 145–146 and fig. 37.



This ritual scene represents a worshipper in front of a stylised tree surmounted by a winged sun-disc, a winged naked goddess, and two divine emblems. The winged sun-disc consists of a central disc shaped by a drill-hole, while the silhouette-shaped tail and wings are overcut with horizontal engraved lines. A globe-tipped streamer hangs down on either side of the tail. The stylised tree consists of an oval-shaped base and a central trunk on which three drill-holes are arranged equidistant from each other. Its foliage is articulated by six rhomboidal elements bisected by single horizontal lines and decorated on each lateral side by single globes. The bearded worshipper is dressed in a headband and a long robe which has fringes at the waist and a fringed lower edge. On the other side of the stylised tree, the winged naked goddess, facing left, and two large-scale tasselled standards are depicted. A crescent moon and a symbol with nine holes appear on similarly shaped posts of which the upper ends and middle parts are articulated with single drill-holes. The stepped platform of the crescent moon has a double base, while the other emblem has a triple base. The vertical line shaping the posts overruns both emblems and their stepped platforms, reflecting limits to the competence of the seal-cutters and their resulting incorrect decisions. Behind the worshipper, there is a six-

pointed star with a globe in the middle, above a fish depicted facing left at the same height as a rhomb situated between the two standards.

This modelled-style seal image, to which Speleers devoted a paper in 1929 and which Giovino then pointed out the importance of in his book (2007) is interesting because of the arrangement and rendering of the figures. Although the combination of the stylised tree and the winged sun-disc is well known in glyptic art, there are only a few examples which reflect such a perfect symmetrical appearance built from geometric forms. The present stylised tree and winged sun-disc provide an unparalleled compositional unity due to the proportional shaping, arranged drill-holes, and engraved lines.[319] A cylinder seal kept in the Anavian Collection[320] provides a smaller, less detailed stylised tree, while a winged sun-disc with the depiction of Šamaš and two additional figures[321] on the wings dominates the ensemble. The worshippers on the two seals have similar features: headband, eyebrow marked by a curved line, nose and mouth marked with short strokes, the patterning of their clothing, and their posture, while the shoulder and upper arms are left without modelling on either worshipper.

As for the objects in this cultic scene, it is interesting to note that not only the stylised tree surmounted by the winged sun-disc which occupies the central field but also the two divine emblems have cultic meaning. A less detailed cylinder seal[322] depicts a worshipper in front of the same large tasselled standards: the crescent moon and the symbol with nine holes. A six-pointed star with a globe in the middle, a fish, and a rhomb also appear in both scenes, and there is a bucranium (bull's head) on the Marcopoli seal. As for the arrangement of these scenes, the ND 6028 cylinder seal (from Kalḫu)[323] is notable since it depicts a worshipper facing right in front of a large-scale tasselled standard with a crescent moon and a stylised tree surmounted by a winged sun-disc. In this scene, the divine standard is directly in front of the worshipper, and there are three motifs: a six-pointed star with a globe in the middle, a fish, and a rhomb.[324]

The winged naked goddess[325] presents another particularity of the present seal, since she is depicted with her body in frontal view while her head is in profile, similarly to the feet, which are, however, oriented in a contrary direction. On her lowered wings, the feathers are arranged in a row, and the breasts and hip, the contours and articulation of the body and legs, are naturalistically modelled, while neither the arms nor the hands are indicated.[326] The role of this figure in this scene is questionable, since she is smaller and placed lower than the worshipper. Moreover, she faces left, that is, the opposite direction to the worshipper. However, we can remark that she fills the entire available field perfectly. Her eye, hair, and nose are shaped in a similar way to the worshipper's, which makes it evident that the winged naked goddess was shaped in the same workshop and belongs to the original scene.

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[319] For the role and meaning of the Assyrian stylised tree, see GIOVINO 2007, 145–155 (esp.). For trees below the winged sun-disc, see COLLON 2001, 82–85.

[320] Anavian Collection: VOLK 1979, no. 225 ("pink and brown agate", height: 38 mm, diameter: 17 mm).

[321] For different interpretations and identifications related to these figures, see COLLON 2001, 80; KURMANGALIEV 2011, 619 and fig. 15.

[322] Formerly kept in the Marcopoli Collection: TEISSIER 1984, 174–175 no. 250 ("chalcedony", height: 22 mm, diameter: 9 mm); Christie's (New York) 14–06–1993, 190 no. 270 (3rd item).

[323] ND 6028 (from Kalḫu): PARKER 1962, 33: ND.6028 ("rock crystal", height: 15 mm) and pl. XVI: 1.

[324] Another cylinder seal which attests a similar arrangement, though the symbol of Nabû is behind the worshipper:
– formerly kept in the Marcopoli Collection: TEISSIER 1984, 174–175 no. 249 ("chalcedony", height: 19 mm, diameter: 9 mm); Christie's (New York) 14–06–1993, 190 no. 270 (2nd item).

[325] For an interpretation of collected Neo-Assyrian examples of this figure, see BARTL 2012 and **39**.

[326] The following seal depicts a winged naked goddess without arms and hands, in the same position. She faces a worshipper and a stylised tree surmounted by a winged sun-disc:
– BM WA 104867 – 1912–7–11, 15 (British Museum, "acquired by Woolley at Qala'at en Nejn on the Euphrates in Syria"): COLLON 2001, 91 no. 155 ("chalcedony: white", height: 18.5 mm, diameter: 11.5 mm) and pl. XII.

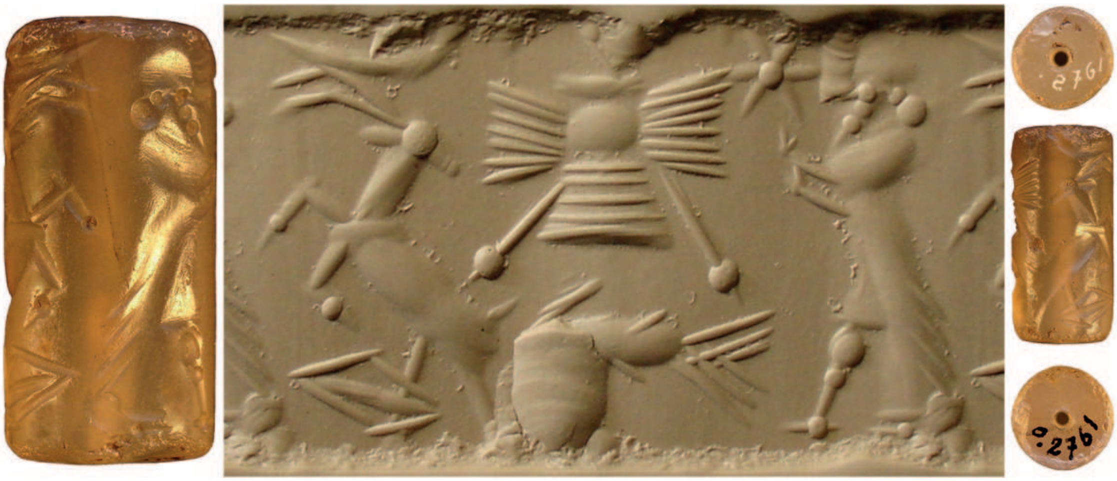
Regarding the overall composition, the detailing of the figures, and the divine emblems on the studied seal, a cylinder seal kept in The National Museum of Damascus[327] provides the closest parallel, though the winged naked goddess and the filling motifs are not depicted on it. These two cylinder seals constitute an interesting comparison case in which it is possible to examine the process of the fabrication of a seal image where the demander can order his preferred figures and motifs to reflect his personal choice: while the Damascus seal does not depict the winged naked goddess or the filling motifs, the present seal provides them. The main figures constitute the scene and compositional structure of the seal image; however, personal choices regarding further figures or motifs decide the final composition. The aforementioned Neo-Assyrian seals are dated to the second half of the 8th or to the 7th century B.C.

45

Ritual scene

Winged sun-disc between a worshipper and a gazelle (or wild goat)

Museum number	O.2761
Material	"pierre grisâtre translucide"
Dimensions	height: 29.4 mm, diameter: 14.0 mm (with slightly convex ends), weight: 10.72 g
Condition	The upper and lower edges are chipped; a large chip partly damages the worshipper's head, and another, the fish.
Provenance	Formerly in the Moussa Collection, 11–10–1958.
Bibliography	Unpublished.



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[327] 46 (The National Museum of Damascus, acquired from art market in 1949): Kühne 1980, 138–139 no. 85 ("milchig-weißer Quarz", height: 30.7 mm, diameter: 15 mm, weight: 13.0 g).

This ritual scene represents a winged sun-disc between a striding worshipper on the right and a rampant gazelle whose head is turned back towards the sun-disc and the worshipper. The winged sun-disc has an oval-shaped central disc surmounted by a simplified appendage. The wings consist of densely arranged, slightly divergent filed lines. The trapezoidal, silhouette-shaped tail is overcut by horizontal lines, and a globe-tipped streamer hangs down on either side of it. The diagonal line of the right-hand streamer, which runs above the sun-disc, reveals the low competence of the seal-cutter. The bearded worshipper, facing left, is depicted in striding position, with piously upraised hands. He wears a rounded headdress, while his beard and shoulder-length hair are shaped by different-sized drill-holes. The two upraised fingers on both hands, in a V-shape, are marked by short strokes. The man is dressed in a long open robe over a tunic with an engraved lower edge, and there are four oblique lines on the lower outside part, seemingly to designate the fringes. The rampant gazelle is depicted with a single ear and two horns, while its muzzle terminates in a stroke with a small drill-hole. On its hollow-backed body, the shoulder and the haunch are deeply shaped while, in the case of each foreleg, the seal-cutter settled for the combination of two engraved lines, and the lower ones again have a drill-hole towards the end, which is appropriate to represent the hooves. The hind legs are without any articulation. In the sky, there is a six-pointed star with a globe in the middle, in front of the worshipper. A disproportionately large crescent moon above the gazelle; the latter has one hind leg crossed by a large rhomb. Below the winged sun-disc, there is a large fish facing left.

The exaggerated size of the filling motifs is seemingly intended to fill the available space around the main figures. They play the dominant role in the lower field, since the fish takes centre position below the winged sun-disc while the rhomb covers the gazelle's hind leg. Except for a few short strokes (see the worshipper's nose and fingers), the seal design is characterised by filled and drilled elements, which were used to articulate the movements of the worshipper and the gazelle. Collecting four cylinder seals kept in the British Museum, D. Collon has established a group[328] of which two items[329] show close similarities to the present seal image in terms of the figures represented, the striding movement of the worshipper, the filed and drilled elements, and the exaggerated role of the filling motifs. The large rhomb and fish, below the winged sun-disc, in place of the stylised tree, also take a central position. Based on similarly shaped and executed winged sun-discs, these seals are dated to the 7th century B.C., possibly the early part. Taking into account the striding worshippers' posture, the technology, the missing borderlines, and the convex ends of the cylinder seals, these ritual scenes seem to be Babylonian in origin. Compared to the aforementioned seals kept in the British Museum, the present seal is larger in size, and the overall execution of the figures attests higher quality and hence higher competence of its seal-cutter(s).

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[328] For the four cylinder seals:
– BM WA 102566 – 1908–4–11, 74 (British Museum): COLLON 2001, 75 no. 144 ("carnelian: orange-brown" cylinder seal with convex ends, height: 18.5 mm, diameter: 10 mm) and pl. XI;
– BM WA 89597 – N 1099 (British Museum, "from Layard's expeditions to Mesopotamia between 1845 and 1851"): COLLON 2001, 74 no. 141 ("quartz, chalcedony: grey-blue … slightly barrel-shaped with convex ends", height: 26 mm, diameter: 12 [12.5] mm) and pl. XI;
– BM WA 125807 – 1937–12–11, 88 (British Museum, "acquired by Mallowan during his Khabur/Balikh survey"): COLLON 2001, 75 no. 145 ("quartz, chalcedony: probably white with black inclusions", height: 22.5 mm, diameter: 11.5 mm) and pl. XI;
– BM WA 89482 – 1866–5–15, 2 (British Museum; acquired from P. Albert): COLLON 2001, 119 no. 225 ("carnelian: mottled, orange and yellow", height: 19 mm, diameter: 10 mm) and pl. XVIII.
For discussion of the characteristics of the seals belonging to this group, see COLLON 2001, 74 no. 141.

[329] For the two cylinder seals, see the first and fourth specimens in footnote 328.

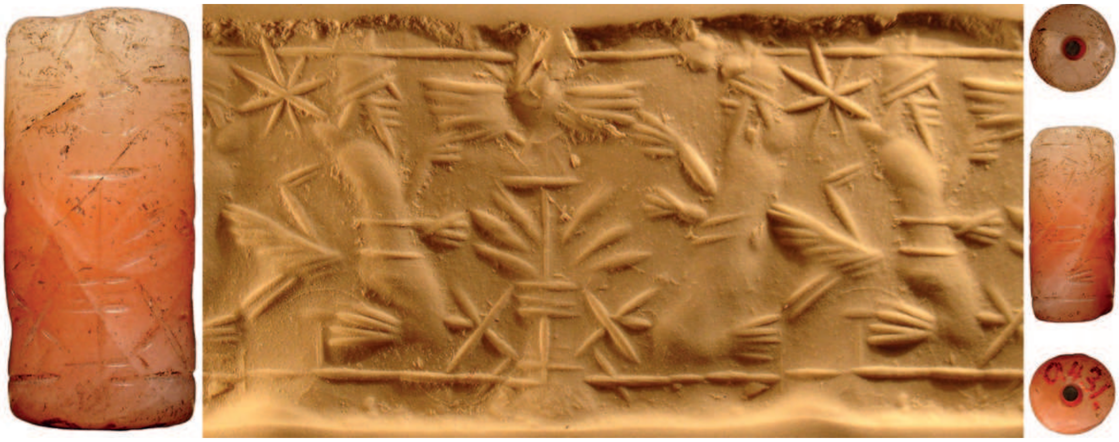
As for the meaning of the emphasised appearance of the fish and the rhomb together in these ritual scenes, U. Seidl explained their symbolic role based on iconographical and textual evidence.[330] According to her interpretation, the fish and the rhomb respectively signify male and female aspects, and together they could play a fertility role for the seal-bearer.

46

Ritual scene

Two kneeling worshippers flanking a stylised tree surmounted by a winged sun-disc

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.431
MATERIAL	"pierre rouge opaque"
DIMENSIONS	height: 26.2 mm, diameter: 12.0 mm (both edges are rounded outside the borderlines), weight: 6.71 g
CONDITION	The upper edge is chipped, and two sections on the lower edge have been polished. A large fault covers the upper part of the winged sun-disc, and a smaller one distorts the right-hand worshipper's headdress. The field around the figures is damaged by pitting or by etching.[331]
PROVENANCE	According to L. Speleers's descriptions (Speleers 1920, 14; Speleers 1923a, 20), l'abbé de Genouillac acquired several cylinder seals (O.414–468) in Baghdad during his travels of 1911–12. The museum bought this lot in Paris (1913).
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Speleers 1917, 185–186 no. 431; Danthine 1937, 266 fig. 351 and pl. 51: 351.



This antithetical ritual scene, depicted between two borderlines at the top and bottom, represents two kneeling worshippers, one at either side of a stylised tree with a winged sun-disc above it. The bearded worshippers have rounded headdresses with two brims and shoulder-length hair below them. They wear long, striped, belted robes whose lower fringed edges are marked with long diverging lines. They each

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[330] Seidl 2006, 136–139.

[331] For a similar surface condition, see footnote 263 to **36**.

extend an opened hand towards the emblematical central motif, while their other opened hands, positioned at waist height, face the viewer. The winged sun-disc is depicted as a central disc bordered by an appendage above, while there is a wing with unevenly shaped lines on either side of the disc. The tail of the winged sun-disc is bordered by a horizontal line below. The trapezoidal base of the stylised tree consists of a combination of two lateral oblique lines and a horizontal line, while three similar horizontal lines cross its trunk in the middle. The tree's upper half takes a palmette form, with three emerging branches arranged on each side. The lower half is decorated with two symmetrical geometric motifs shaped similarly to a five-pointed star whose inner horizontal rays are omitted. Behind the two kneeling figures, there is an eight-pointed star in the sky, and a bird facing right appears on the lower field. On the basis of its straight beak, long neck, and elongated wing and tail, it seems to be a long-legged wading bird such as a stork or crane.[332]

This emblematical depiction belongs to the group of well-known cut-style ritual scenes, whose main figures are always arranged in a similar antithetical composition. The filling motifs vary; however, the structure of these images is well arranged. The collected examples[333] attest very close characteristics to the present seal regarding the arrangement of the central figures and their quality. As for the technology, it is interesting to note the limited use of vertical lines, of which the shaping is more complicated than that of the horizontal and oblique lines on these seal images, and reflects the images' quality. Although the work phases and stylistic elements are well defined, it has already been noted that the date and place of origin of these seals remain unknown.[334] It is interesting to note that this subject – worshippers flanking a winged sun-disc below a stylised tree – is frequent among the Neo-Assyrian linear-style cylinder seals (see *e.g.* **42**). However, several stylistic elements and the execution of the figures' details show similarity with the Neo-Babylonian glyptics, and this type of emblematical ritual scene can be dated to the 9th and 8th centuries B.C.

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[332] For more elaborate versions, see:

– BM WA 129575 – 1945–10–13, 119 (British Museum, formerly kept in the Southesk Collection, acquired in 1903 from J.J. Naaman"): Carnegie 1908, 110 no. Q ý38; Collon 2001, 101–102 no. 184 ("serpentinite", height: 35.5 mm, diameter: 12.5 mm) and pl. XV; the flying water bird is depicted above a palmette;

– BM WA 89309 – N 1081 (British Museum, "from A.H. Layard's expeditions to Mesopotamia between 1845 and 1851"): Collon 2001, 98 no. 175 ("chalcedony: deep blue", cylinder seal with convex ends and small perforations, height: 23.5 mm, diameter: 10.5 mm) and pl. XIV; the water bird is depicted in striding position.

[333] The collected cylinder seals are unprovenanced:

– CBS 14444 (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology): Legrain 1925, 304 no. 594 ("carnelian" cylinder seal with convex ends, height: 34 mm, diameter: 13.5 mm) and pl. XXXI;

– Morgan 728 (Morgan Library & Museum): Porada 1948, 89 no. 728 ("pink chert" barrel-shaped cylinder seal, height: 37 mm, diameter: 12 [14] mm) and pl. CIX;

– Ash. 1954.177 (Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, from Crowdy collection): Buchanan 1966, 116 no. 649 ("orange-red carnelian", height: 25 mm, diameter: 10 [11] mm [barrel-shaped]) and pl. 42;

– 631 (Adana Arkeoloji Müzesi, acquired from art market in 1971): Tunca 1979, 23 no. 104 ("calcédoine translucide", height: 24 mm, diameter: 10 mm) and pl. XI;

– M.1000 (The National Museum of Aleppo, acquired in 1948): Hammade 1987, 142–143 no. 277 ("marble", height: 32 mm, diameter: 12 mm);

– M.1004 (The National Museum of Aleppo, acquired in 1949): Hammade 1987, 142–143 no. 278 ("crystal", height: 40 mm, diameter: 14 mm);

– MFA 65.1362 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; given by O. Bates, F. Carrington Weems and H.L. Mayer in 1965), for this unpublished cylinder seal ("chalcedony", height: 35 mm, diameter: 15 mm), see http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/cylinder-seal-163906 (accessed 09–09–2018).

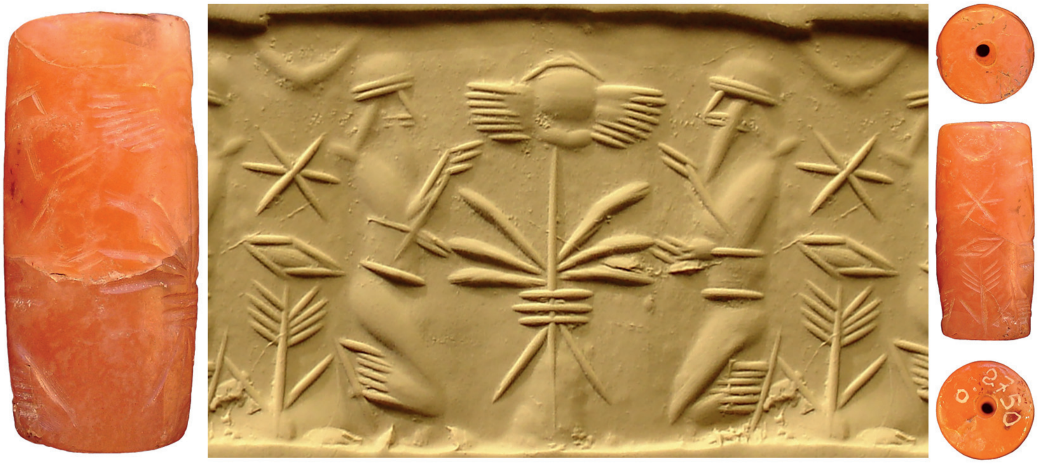
[334] Porada 1948, 88; Wittmann 1992, 223: *III.A.6* (*e.g.* nos. 153 and 154); Collon 2001, 95–96 nos. 165–166.

47

Ritual scene

Two kneeling worshippers flanking a stylised tree surmounted by a winged sun-disc

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2750
MATERIAL	
DIMENSIONS	height: 28.7 mm, diameter: 12.8 mm (slightly barrel-shaped), weight: 8.55 g
CONDITION	There is a fault in the stone above the left end of the crescent moon on the upper edge. One horizontal abrasion runs above the lowest right-hand branch of the stylised tree and below the right-hand worshipper's lowered hand. There is a fault in the stone at the height of the same figure's feet.
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection (said to be from the region situated "entre le Louristan et Kermanshah"), 11–10–1958.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.



*On this antithetical composition there are two kneeling worshippers, one at either side of a stylised tree with a winged sun-disc above it. The bearded worshippers are shaped similarly to the figures in the previous seal image (***46***) except for the following details: the lower, fringed edges of their robes are marked with parallel lines instead of diverging ones, and the left-hand figure's hand is marked awkwardly by only two parallel lines because there was not enough space to shape it. Although the winged sun-disc and the stylised tree are also shaped similarly to the previous seal image, there are a few details and iconographical solutions which differentiate them: the direction of the curved line above the sun-disc and the wings shaped with almost horizontal striped lines on either side of it. The top of a palmette touches the simplified lower part of the sun-disc. The stylised tree's lower half, separated by three horizontal lines from the upper one, has two forty-five–degree lines. Behind the two kneeling figures there are, in a vertical row (from top to bottom), a crescent moon, a six-pointed star, a rhomb, and a "bottle-brush" tree of which the diverging branches are shaped with forty-five–degree lines.*

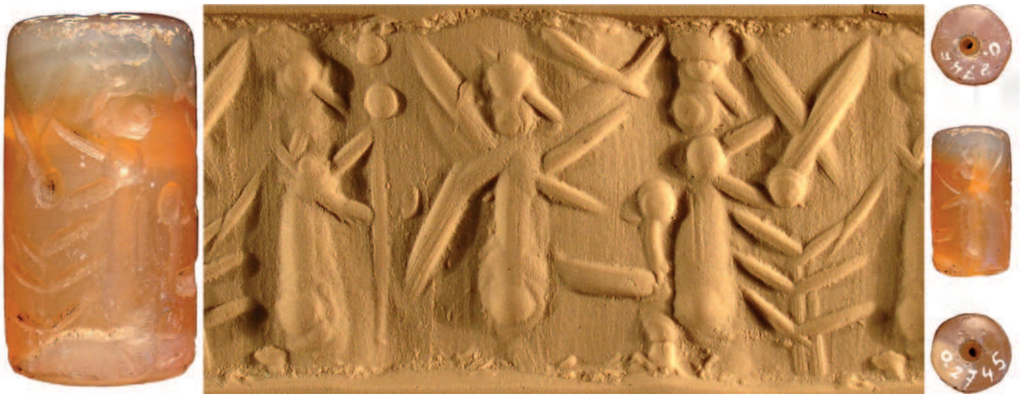
This cut-style seal image is characterised by the broad, rounded, silhouette-shaped bodies of the figures and the use of a double striped engraved line, whose arrangement reflects its simplified, geometrical appearance. The execution of the worshippers' heads attests this design, whose essence is the combination of parallel and angular strokes to form the nose and mouth below the double brims with the silhouette-shaped headdress, beard, and hair. Besides the limited repertoire of elements, we can remark that the worshippers' eyes, similarly to other details, have not been formed; however, this schematised and rudimentary style was appropriate to manufacture these seal images in sets and in big quantities. Among their parallels, it is important to note a cylinder seal from the Bailey Collection.[335] Although this seal depicts the same arrangement of figures and the same use of tools as in the previous work phases, it also seemingly attests to an extra work phase that included the frequent application of double engraved lines (see the belts and the arms), the dense lines constituting rows below the sun-disc and alongside the figures' thighs. Based on these differences between the two seal images, we can appreciate the different work phases and individual choices of the seal-cutters or the seal-bearers. For the question of the date and origin of the studied cylinder seal, see **46**.

48

RITUAL SCENE

Worshipper, genius, and standard-holder in front of a stylised tree

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2745 (the authenticity of this unfinished cylinder seal is questionable)
MATERIAL	
DIMENSIONS	height 19.8 mm, diameter: 10.7 mm (with convex ends), weight: 3.87 g
CONDITION	The upper and lower edges are chipped.
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection, 11–10–1958.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.



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[335] Drouot (Paris) 16–12–1992, 16–17 no. 77 ("quartz blanc", height: 36 mm, diameter: 14 mm).

This ritual scene represents three figures facing a stylised tree. The first figure is depicted as a worshipper in front of the stylised tree, the second appears to be a winged genius, and the third holds a pole. The motif above the stylised tree is barely identifiable as a simplified winged sun. Between the first and the second figure, there is probably a crescent moon in the sky, while the three simplified elements (a drill-hole and a horizontal groove connected by a vertical groove) may be an unfinished caprid's head, neck, and body. Between the second and third figures, the upper hole seems to be an astral symbol, while the lower hole may be a divine emblem on top of the pole held by the third figure.

Although the character of the three figures is different, their silhouettes and simplified articulations are shaped similarly using a combination of boldly shaped hollows and drill-holes with additional engraved lines. Their appearance makes it evident that this seal image has a very crude style, or rather that it is unfinished, since only the preliminary work phases, without detailing, can be discerned on the seal image. The identification of the figures and the treatment of the motifs around them also raise many questions, as it is difficult to find a similar combination and theme left in its preliminary work phase.

In sum, we can conclude that the first figure with the stylised tree is reminiscent of the ritual scenes; the second figure is a genius due to the wings, which can also be connected to ritual scenes; while the third figure, who holds a pole with a drill-hole above it, is seemingly a standard-holder. Nevertheless, the unusual character of the scene cannot fully be explained by its unfinished or preliminary state, since the clumsy workmanship also provides unrecognised iconographical solutions and unfamiliar details. The authenticity of this cylinder seal might be questionable, and it could be a modern, that is, a fake cylinder seal.

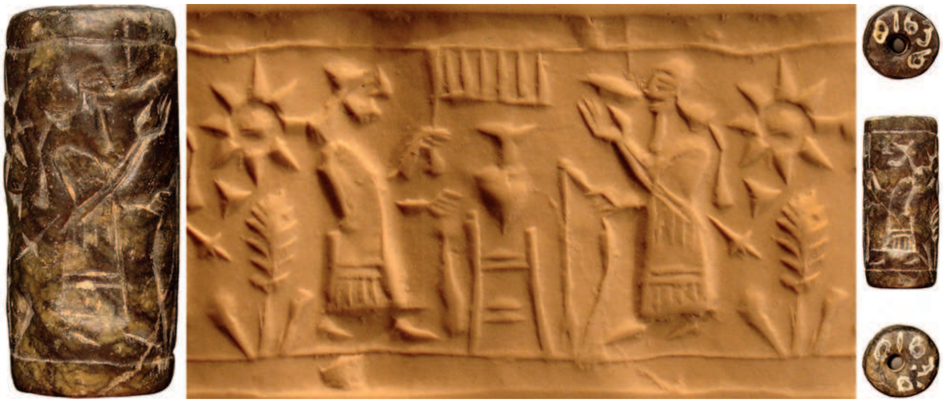
VI.

Banquet Scenes (49–56)

49

Banquet scene (pot-stand group)
Pot-stand between a king and his attendant

museum number	O.1636
material	"serpentine"
dimensions	height: 23.0 mm, diameter: 10.6 mm (slightly barrel-shaped), weight: 4.35 g
condition	The entire surface is smooth and glossy except for a few faults beyond the borderlines.
provenance	Formerly in the Cugnin Collection, 15–05–1939.
bibliography	Legrain 1911, 42 no. 66 and pl. VI; Speleers 1939, 108 fig. 66; Speleers 1943, 126 no. 1636.



This banquet scene, depicted between two borderlines at the top and bottom, belongs to the pot-stand group. At the centre of the depiction, there is a pot with a wide rim, long neck, and piriform body with pointed base, which is placed on a trapezoidal stand that has two double crossbars. On its left side, there is a beardless attendant, whose long robe has a fringed lower edge. He holds a towel in his left hand, positioned at the level of his waist, while in his upraised right hand he holds a flag-shaped fan, the upper edge of which overlaps the upper borderline. In front of him, a king is represented with a shallow cup (phiala) in his upraised left hand, while in his right hand there is a bow, whose lower end overlaps the lower borderline. He wears a headdress, and a tassel hangs down below his shoulder-length hair. His long robe also has a fringed lower edge, and fringes at his waist. The lower half of his sword, in sheath terminating in a chape, is outlined behind his waist. Behind the two standing figures, there is a large globe with eight rays in the sky and *a "bottle-brush" tree, the main trunk of which appears between two small diverging shoots, on the lower field. A wedge-shaped motif is situated above the king's sheath.*

This seal image attests those elements and arrangement which characterise the cylinder seals from Assyrian workshops depicting linear-style banquet scenes. Since these workshops did not employ any particular details or unusual motifs, this object of average quality has to be counted among their products, made as part of a series in the 9th–8th centuries B.C. Among similar examples, which are known in great numbers, the cylinder seal kept in the Buffalo Museum of Science[336] constitutes a very close parallel to the studied example. Moreover, the serpentinite, slightly barrel-shaped cylinder seal[337] from H. Rassam's excavations at Nineveh also shows similarities regarding the disposition of the figures and the chosen motifs, though the quality of its iconography is higher than that of the present seal.

50

BANQUET SCENE (pot-stand group)
Pot-stand between a king and his attendant

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.786
MATERIAL	"pierre noire"
DIMENSIONS	height: 32.9 mm, diameter: 13.1 mm, weight: 9.51 g
CONDITION	On the damaged field, most of the surface has been polished. The lower borderline, the lower part of the bow, and the feet of the figures are slightly recognisable, while one part of the contour lines has seemingly been recut. Cylinder seal **56**, which was acquired from the same collector, shows similar damage, but the available documentation does not establish a common origin for them.
PROVENANCE	Gift of Dr. Jousset de Bellesme, who purchased this cylinder seal, like **56**, in one of the bazaars in the "région de Ḥoms-Ḥamath, lors de son séjour dans la Syrie du nord" (SPELEERS 1923B, 193) in 1893, 26–02–1925.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	SPELEERS 1923B, 194–195 no. 2 and pl. XXIX; SPELEERS 1943, 124 no. 786 (in this publication, a negative made of a modern seal impression was reproduced in reverse); GUBEL 1995, 60 no. 77 (photo also reversed in the publication); GUBEL 2007A, 101: Sceau-cylindre 112.

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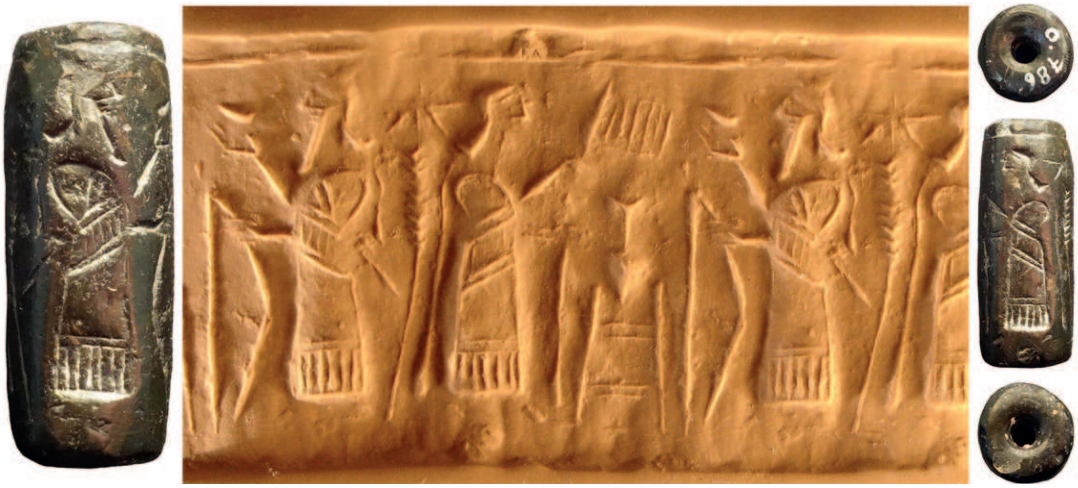
[336] Buffalo Museum of Science (gift of Mr and Mrs Chauncey J. Hamlin): INGHOLT 1944, 10–11 no. 24.

[337] BM WA 89438 – 1855–12–5, 451 (British Museum, from H. Rassam's excavations at Nineveh): COLLON 2001, 67 no. 104 ("serpentinite: black … slightly barrel-shaped", height: 33 mm, diameter: 13 mm) and pl. IX.



This banquet scene is depicted between the upper and lower borderlines (only traces of the lower one are visible below the damaged and polished lower part of the scene). At the centre of the depiction, there is a pot with a wide rim, long neck, and piriform body with pointed base, which is placed on a trapezoidal stand with two double crossbars. On its left side, there is a beardless attendant, whose long robe has a fringed lower edge, while at his waist, the lower edge of a fringe is indicated by a double line. He holds a towel in his left hand, positioned at the level of his waist; another towel is thrown over his shoulder and hangs down behind him. In his upraised right hand he holds a flag-shaped fan. In front of him, a king is represented with a shallow cup in his upraised right hand, while with his left, he grasps a bow whose lower end is omitted. He wears a headdress, and a tassel hangs down below his shoulder-length hair. His long robe has been shaped similarly to his attendant's garments; however, two parallel lines designate its hem above his left elbow. His sheath is depicted behind his waist. Behind the two figures, there is a hardly visible eight-pointed star with a globe in the middle in the sky and a "bottle-brush" tree whose long stem follows the direction of the attendant's towel thrown over his shoulder.

This linear-style banquet scene, damaged in part, attests average quality in terms of its execution and depicts well-known figures, including the filling motifs, of which there are several known examples in the pot-stand group.[338] This highly standardised piece must be one of the mass-produced cylinder seals made in Assyrian workshops in the 9th–8th centuries B.C.

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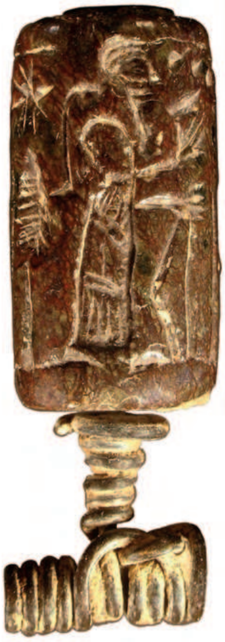
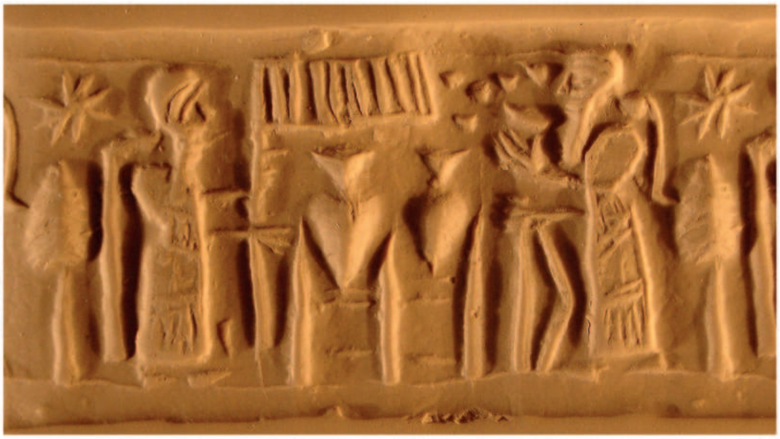
[338] For similar scenes which attest the same figures, motifs, and arrangement:
- Del. 344 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France): Delaporte 1910, 191 no. 344 ("serpentine", height: 39 mm, diameter: 13 mm) and pl. XXIII;
- NCBS 402 (Yale Babylonian Collection, formerly kept in the Newell Collection): von der Osten 1934, 60 no. 402 ("steatite", height: 30 mm, diameter: 11 mm) and pl. XXVII;
- formerly in the Layard Collection: Borowski 1952, 178 no. 10 ("roter Steatit", height: 24 mm, diameter: 10 mm) and pl. XXIII;
- Ash. 1913.77 (Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology; the cylinder seal "brought by a Kurd from Arslan Tash" was acquired by C.L. Woolley in Jerablus): Buchanan 1966, 110 no. 599 ("pink limestone", height: 31 mm, diameter: 10 [11] mm [barrel-shaped]) and pl. 40.

51

BANQUET SCENE (pot-stand group)
Double pot-stand between a king and his attendant

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2753
MATERIAL	
DIMENSIONS	height: 27.6 mm, diameter: 14.7 mm, weight: 13.82 g and height: 44.2 mm with the T-formed bronze suspension loop
CONDITION	Except for a small fault which partly covers the eight-pointed star, the entire surface is smooth and glossy.
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection (said to be from the "versant occidental du Louristan"), 11–10–1958.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.





At the centre of this seal image, depicted between the upper and lower borderlines, there are two similarly shaped but different-sized pots. They both have triangle forms constituting rims with short necks and piriform bodies with pointed bases, placed on a double stand consisting of three vertical supports, among which the central support divides the stand into two similar parts which have double crossbars above and a single one below. Regarding the two figures that appear and the filling motifs, we can attest the standard arrangement characterising the pot-stand group (see ***49*** *and* ***50****); however, the execution and the details reflect another stylistic influence, which merits further investigation.*

According to the structural arrangement, the two figures are designed to fill the available field, which leads to their expanded, broadened appearance. Their heads are at the uppermost level of the scene, which is usually reserved for the astral symbols and the flag-shaped fan. Moreover, the king's head overlaps the upper borderline and is leaning slightly forward in order to fit on the field. The engraved lines are larger than on **49** and **50** and also deeper, meaning that this scene would be clearly recognisable if the seal's owner looked directly at it. The figures have angular forms and a broad or squat appearance.

Among the details of this image, the engravings of the handle of the flag-shaped fan and the towel grasped by the attendant's hands are worth mentioning, since the towel seems to be the elongated lower part of the fan. Another towel, delineated by a simple, broad vertical line, appears to have lost its original function, because it is depicted hanging down directly from the attendant's hair instead of thrown over the shoulder. The king is represented with a shallow cup in his upraised left hand and holds a triangular bow with the string facing outwards, in its standard position;[339] however, he seemingly grasps the string of the bow instead of the shaft. Furthermore, in the case of the eight-pointed star that is present, the rays do not have the usual symmetrical appearance, due to their irregular arrangement. As for the iconography of the pot-stand group, the main astral motif is the star; however, an imperfect version of the Sibitti also appears in the sky. Instead of seven holes, there are only six: five between the flag-shaped fan and the king's head, while the last one appears to overlap the left part of the cup held by the king. There is a light engraving above the left-hand figure's foot which seems to be a wedge-shaped motif. The trunk of a "bottle-brush" tree is depicted only from the borderline to the lowest of the branches, which are engraved in a turned down position, reflecting a cone-shaped form.

Taking into account the aforementioned characteristics, we can compare the present seal image to the iconography of cylinder seal ND 6083, discovered at Kalḫu.[340] On that seal, the double pot-stand is depicted between the king and his attendant, and there are a similarly shaped eight-pointed star and a tasselled spade (the symbol of Marduk), to which the proportion and the shaping of the bottle-brush tree on the present seal show a clear resemblance. This may explain the particular formation of this tree, with its elongated, upright trunk and cone-shaped upper part.

This linear-style seal is thus probably a provincial copy that borrows the theme and main elements of a seal belonging to the pot-stand group; however, its iconography shows local stylistic influence regarding the execution of the overall composition, including the unfamiliar details and modified elements, which, in the end, provide a particular rendering of the original theme.

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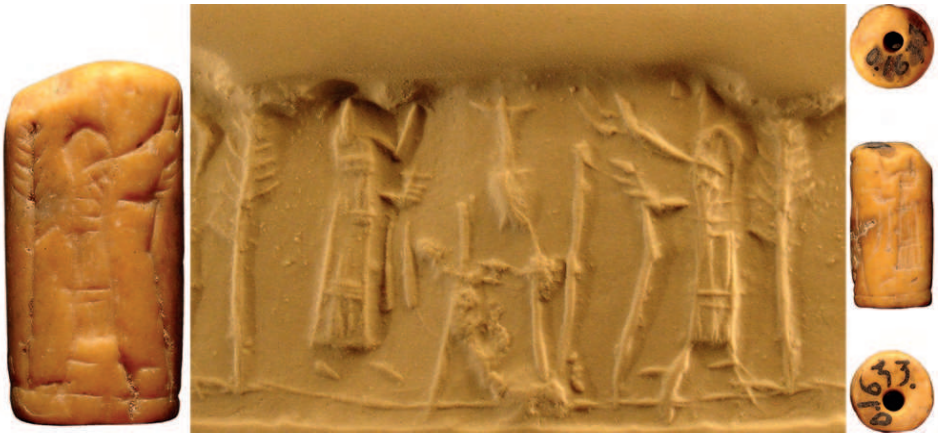
[339] For Neo-Assyrian bows, see ZUTTERMAN 2003, 125–128 (esp.) and 158 fig. 1.

[340] ND 6083 (from Kalḫu): PARKER 1962, 35: ND.6083 ("black steatite", height: 30 mm) and pl. XVII: 9.

52

Banquet scene (pot-stand group)
Pot-stand apparently between a king and his attendant

museum number	O.1633
material	“marbre jaune”
dimensions	height: 22.2 mm (the upper quarter of the cylinder seal has been broken off), diameter: 11.2 mm, weight: 4.98 g
condition	The upper surface together with the broken edge of the cylinder seal has been polished. An oblique abrasion partly covers the lower half of the stand, while a fault on the stone covers the right-hand figure’s foot.
provenance	Formerly in the Cugnin Collection, 15–05–1939.
bibliography	Legrain 1911, 41 no. 63 and pl. V; Speleers 1939, 107 fig. 63; Speleers 1943, 124–125 no. 1633.



This banquet scene, whose upper quarter has been completely broken off, belongs to the pot-stand group. On the remaining part, above the uneven and slightly undulating lower borderline, there is a pot-stand between what one supposes to be a royal figure and his attendant, and behind them, a tall “bottle-brush” tree is depicted. The pot has a wide rim, long neck and misshapen body the pointed base of which is oriented towards the right vertical support of the trapezoidal stand with the double crossbar. On its left side, there is the beardless attendant, whose long robe has a fringed lower edge, and at his waist, the fringes are framed by a double horizontal engraved line. In his left hand, positioned at the level of his waist, he holds a towel hanging down in two long, narrow strips. His head and upraised right hand are completely broken off. In front of him, the presumptive king is depicted with a cup, marked by a short, curved engraving in his upraised left hand, while in his right, he holds a bow whose lower end is omitted. A short engraving – shaped similarly to the branches of the bottle-brush tree – designates a sheath behind his waist. His head is broken off, except for the nose and beard; the shoulder-length hair is not recognisable either. The curved fringe is formed by oblique lines above three horizontal lines at his waist, while above the fringed lower edge, two vertical lines appear to depict the pleat of the long robe. The tall bottle-brush tree is situated nearer to this figure than the attendant. The remaining space, which is usually reserved for the attendant’s long towel thrown over his shoulder, is left empty.

This linear-style banquet scene is copied from the model established by the Assyrian workshops; however, the execution and arrangement attest a low quality level. The main vertical lines, such as the stem of the bottle-brush tree or the supporting elements of the stand and the bow, were cut first and placed on the undulating lower borderline which is crossed by them. The two standing figures appear to be positioned far from it, and their engraved lines show several uncommon or rudimentary solutions regarding the surface engraving of their robes or the shaping of their upraised arms. The shaping of the bow[341] and its connection with its holder are also exaggerated in their proportions.

The pot is shaped according to the well-known convention; however, its central upright engraving, which would only constitute the neck, runs obliquely along the body and terminates at the top of the support of the stand instead of its middle part, leading the pot to have a deformed shape. Since the chosen material (light-coloured stone) is not typical among the cylinder seals belonging to the pot-stand group coming from the Assyrian workshops, this piece must be a provincial product, maybe the work of an apprentice's hands. Among the cylinder seals belonging to the pot-stand group, there are two specimens, kept in the Adana Arkeoloji Müzesi[342] and in the Kist Collection,[343] with the same kind of break on the upper part. Furthermore, there is a cylinder seal, formerly kept in the Newell Collection,[344] which provides similarly simplified iconography concerning the proportions of the pot-stand and the right-hand figure compared to those of the present seal.

53

BANQUET SCENE (pot-stand group)

Transformed pot-stand between a king and his attendant

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.1634
MATERIAL	"marbre noir"
DIMENSIONS	height: 25.6 mm, diameter: 9.4 mm, weight: 3.13 g
CONDITION	The upper part is broken and jagged. The entire scene, including the broken parts except a badly damaged surface at the height of the king's head, has been polished, and after this procedure, most of the figures' main contour lines and surface patterning were reshaped by narrow engraved lines and drill-holes. The polishing and reshaping process led to the relatively small size and uneven width of the cylinder seal as well as its small diameter, disproportionate to the large hole in it.
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Cugnin Collection, 15–05–1939.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	LEGRAIN 1911, 41–42 no. 64 and pl. VI; SPELEERS 1939, 107 fig. 64; SPELEERS 1943, 125 no. 1634.

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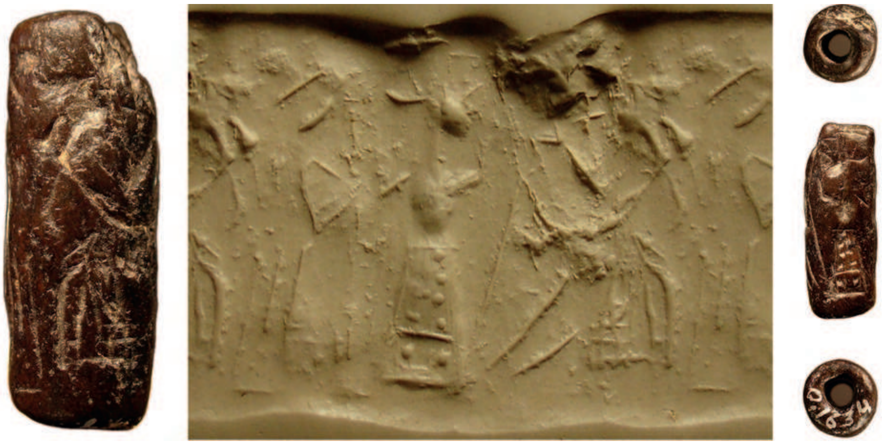
[341] For a similarly shaped bow in a banquet scene with provenance:
– VA 4993 (Vorderasiatisches Museum; from Assur): MOORTGAT 1940, 145 no. 671 ("Kalkstein", height: 24 mm, diameter: 11 mm) and pl. 79.

[342] 211 (Adana Arkeoloji Müzesi, purchased from art market in 1964): TUNCA 1979, 19 no. 69 ("serpentine noire", height: 29 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and pl. VIII.

[343] Allard Pierson Museum (formerly kept in the Kist Collection): KIST 2003, 188 no. 352 ("steatite", height: 25 mm, diameter: 10 mm).

[344] NCBS 398 (Yale Babylonian Collection, formerly kept in the Newell Collection): VON DER OSTEN 1934, 60 no. 398 ("serpentine", height: 26 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and pl. XXVII.



Although this cylinder seal has been damaged and most of the field subsequently polished, and there are several recut and modified details, we can conclude that this object depicts a banquet and belongs to the pot-stand group. The traces of the single lines forming the borders of the field at the top and bottom are recognisable; however, the details on the upper scene are questionable because of the scale of damage, the intentional polishing and re-carving process, and the remaining lower part of the original depiction is provided only by narrow, shallow engraved lines. At the centre of the field, there is a pot whose neck and oval-shaped body are observable above a trapezoidal stand of which the vertical supports and triple crossbars can also be recognised. On the left side of this reduced scene, a bearded attendant is dressed in a long robe with a fringed lower edge, and holds a towel in his left hand, positioned at the level of his waist. His other towel is thrown over his shoulder and hangs down behind him, while in his upraised right hand, he holds a flag-shaped fan whose lower part, with four vertical lines, is visible. On the right side, we can identify the king's shoulder-length hair with the hanging tassel, his raised right hand holding the cup, and his bow, but his grasping arm is completely recut, and most of his robe is decorated with extra lines covered in abrasions. Behind the two standing figures, traces of a "bottle-brush" tree's trunk and branches are partly visible.

Regarding the dimensions and form of this cylinder seal, it is evident that the surface, including the partly broken upper edge, has been reworked and then polished. Nevertheless, on the field of this linear-style banquet scene the slightly visible engravings allow us to identify a pot on a stand between the attendant with towels and flag-shaped fan and the king with cup and bow, and behind them a bottle-brush tree.[345]

Among the original figures and motifs, the pot-stand and the upper body of the king suffered most of the modification. All the features on the surface of the pot and its stand and around them were either formed by accident or made intentionally later. The holes arranged in two vertical ranks are the results of the reshaping work on the stand, and there are two carvings which rise from the body of the pot; in addition, we can attest two uneven engraved lines at the level of the rim and several light engraved lines which emerge from it. The completely remodelled pot and stand end in a new figure possibly representing a human silhouette with a thick head of hair at the level of the rim of the pot, while its body has two raised arms, and the stand has become the lower part of a robe decorated by drill-holes organised in two vertical rows. These applied details on the polished surface make it conspicuous that the transformed figures are connected to the modern history of the object, and they might have been produced to promote the sale of the cylinder seal.

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[345] The following linear-style seals show similar stylistic and iconographical details to the original banquet scene:

– Ash. 1913.77 (Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology; the cylinder seal "brought by a Kurd from Arslan Tash" was acquired by C.L. Woolley in Jerablus): BUCHANAN 1966, 110 no. 599 ("pink limestone", height: 31 mm, diameter: 10 [11] mm [barrel-shaped]) and pl. 40;

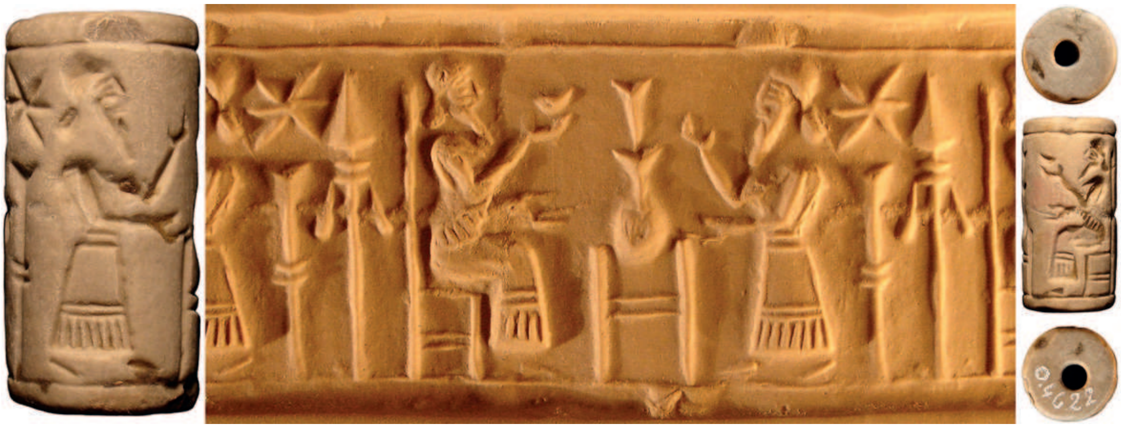
– 1286 (Adana Arkeoloji Müzesi; purchased from art market in 1974): TUNCA 1979, 19 no. 70 ("serpentine verdâtre", height: 36 mm, diameter: 14 mm) and pl. VIII.

54

BANQUET SCENE

Pot-stand apparently between a king sitting on his throne and his attendant

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.4622	Plate 18.
MATERIAL		
DIMENSIONS	height: 25.5 mm, diameter: 12.6 mm, weight: 7.28 g	
CONDITION	There are single faults beyond the upper and the lower borderlines (above the standing figure's head and below the stand). Furthermore, a narrow horizontal abrasion traverses the scene in the middle and partly distorts the sitting figure's outstretched left arm.	
PROVENANCE	Formerly in a Düsseldorf collection (said to be from "Turkey, Anatolia"), 26–03–1991.	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.	



This banquet scene is depicted between two lines which border it at the top and bottom. At the centre of the field, there is a pot with a long neck, oval-shaped body, and curved engraved lines constituting its V-formed rim, above which an upright wedge-shaped motif can be seen. The pot is placed on a stand with a double crossbar, and its supports are marked by vertical lines. The bearded figure sitting on a throne with a high backrest and holding a cup in his right hand seems to be the king, who faces right, contrary to the customary layout of banquet scenes. An abrasion runs at the height of his waist and across his open, upturned left *palm, positioned at the same level. His long robe has a curved fringe at the waist and a fringed lower edge. In front of him, a bearded figure, seemingly his attendant, is standing; his long robe also has a fringed lower edge, while two horizontal lines at his waist mark his belt. Behind the two figures, there is a six-pointed star in the sky, below which a stylus (symbol of Nabû), with a double horizontal engraving in the middle, and a long, tasselled spade (symbol of Marduk) appear.*

Although this seal image provides a pot-stand, it is hard to consider it a member of the pot-stand group, given that on the linear-style seals belonging to that group the standing figures in front of the sitting king are usually beardless and have flag-shaped fans and towels, whereas this bearded figure is depicted with raised right hand with an open, upturned palm – a gesture not attested in the case of the Neo-Assyrian banquet scenes, although the same position, but with more elaborate detail, appears among the Neo-Babylonian glyptics.[346] The sitting figure represented with an open, upturned left palm is also a distinctive detail compared to similar banquet scenes. As for the identification of the standing figure, on the Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs the officials and dignitaries, in the same position, can be identified in front of the king, but without the pot-stand between them.[347] Besides the orientation of the figures and the hand position of the standing figure, the light-coloured stone is not typical among the cylinder seals belonging to the banquet scenes originating from the Assyrian workshops. Moreover, the deep contour lines (see the left arm of the standing figure) and the preference for vertical lines also have dominant roles in the scene, contrary to similar seal images; in addition, the present seal provides a six-pointed star (without vertical rays) instead of the usual eight-pointed one. In sum, this object shows Assyrian and Babylonian influence, but its origin is questionable.

55

BANQUET SCENE (table group)

Banquet table between a king and his attendant

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.1816	Plate 18.
MATERIAL		
DIMENSIONS	height: 41.9 mm, diameter: 14.2 mm (slightly barrel-shaped), weight: 14.30 g	
CONDITION	Abrasions cover the towel held in the left hand of the attendant, whose face seems to have been recut or it may originally have had a disproportionate shape, clashing with the otherwise high quality of the seal image.	
PROVENANCE	Acquired from the antiquarian Edgar Beer (Brussels), 15–05–1950.	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.	

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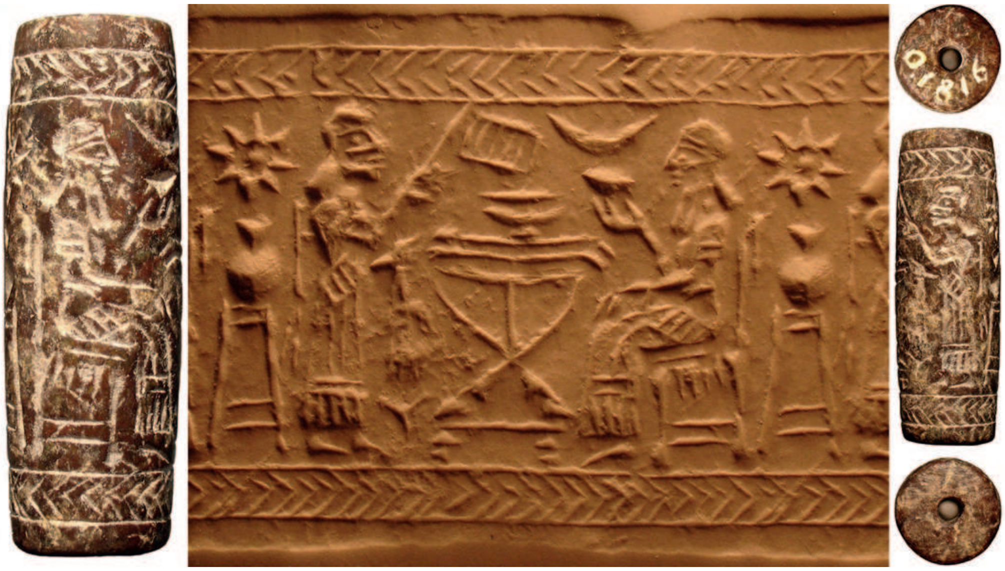
[346] The sitting figure shows similar gesture and body position to the figure on the following seal, which, however, does not have a sword at its waist:
– BM WA 89590 – 1893–10–14, 52 (British Museum, formerly kept in the Lord Lorne Collection): COLLON 2001, 76–78 no. 148 ("quartz, carnelian: pink-brown, streaked white", height: 50.5 mm, diameter: 19 mm), pls. XI and XLII.

[347] The bearded courtier is depicted with the same raised hand position in front of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 BC) (BARNETT – FALKNER 1962, 12: slab 9b and 66: pl. XVIII [Or. Dr. III. Central XVIII]; KERTAI 2017, 117 fig. 3). As for the king, we can remark the depiction of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) holding a cup (MEUSZYŃSKI 1981, pl. 8: 1 G–3).



This seal image, depicted between two inverse chevron borders framing it at the top and bottom, represents a banquet scene and belongs to the table group. At the centre of the field, there is a folding table with bull's feet placed on a low stand the two legs of which are equal in size and shape and are formed with two superimposed oval-shaped elements. Between the middle of the tabletop and the join of the crossed legs, a vertical element, seemingly a locking device to secure the open table, appears. An offering is delineated by two horizontal lines, apparently textiles, running along the tabletop and slightly folding down on the right side. Above them, a shallow cup with disc foot can be seen, and a straight line indicates the food on it. On the left side of the table, there is a beardless attendant, whose long robe has a curved fringe, a fringed lower edge, and between them, two upright lines marking the pleat. Two parallel lines on his upper arm show the edge of the robe above his elbow. In his left hand, positioned at the level of his waist, he holds a towel with long narrow strips hanging down, while in his upraised right hand he holds a flag-shaped fan. The other towel is thrown over his shoulder and hanging down behind him; the two divergent lines at its end designate its broadened or bifurcated lower part. The king is sitting on a throne with a high backrest whose lower part has a double crossbar, and below its seat the cloth is marked by four striped strokes. He has shoulder-length hair, his beard is denoted by two parallel lines, and his tassel hangs down behind the upper part of the back of the throne. He is dressed in a belted long robe of which the curved fringe at thigh level, pleat, and lower fringe are identifiable, and two parallel lines mark the edge of the robe above his elbow. The king holds a cup in his upraised left hand, and there is a crescent moon above it. Behind the two figures, a globe with eight rays appears in the sky, and a pot with a globular body is placed on a trapezoidal stand. A wedge-shaped motif below the towel in the attendant's left hand is also observable.

Given the overall high quality of this linear-style scene, it is interesting to note the awkward execution of the attendant's facial details. His shoulder-length hair has an S-shaped form, while he has an outlined almond-shaped eye which also constitutes his nose. His lips and large jawbone seem to have been exaggerated, either originally or through recutting, resulting in an unrealistic appearance compared to the king.

This banquet scene belongs to a particular group of large seals in which the depicted field is framed by a border made of chevrons arranged in inverse directions at top and bottom.[348] The high-quality execution and detailing allow us to study the accessories of the banquet, such as the furniture or the vessels (*e.g.* the folding table, the shallow cup, and the pot with the stand). We can assume that the bearers of these cylinder seals with banquet scenes (pot-stand and table groups) are related to the uppermost level of society, which represent their activities and material culture. The high-backed throne, detailed clothing, bracelets, and high-quality banquet equipment may reflect this sphere. In glyptic art, forerunners of these features are well documented among the Middle Assyrian seals.[349] Besides these seal images, similar themes are known from bronze situlae or beakers.[350] Nevertheless, the present seal can be said to be connected to the Babylonian iconography, based primarily on the garments of the two figures.

56

BANQUET SCENE (table group)

Banquet table apparently between a female figure and her attendant

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.787
MATERIAL	"pierre rougeâtre/brune"
DIMENSIONS	height: 31.0 mm, diameter: 15.6 mm, weight: 13.00 g
CONDITION	The entire surface is damaged, most of the main contour lines are recut, and there are a few details freely created during recutting.
PROVENANCE	Gift of Dr. Jousset de Bellesme, who purchased this cylinder seal, like **50**, in one of the bazaars in the "région de Ḥoms-Ḥamath, lors de son séjour dans la Syrie du nord" (SPELEERS 1923B, 193) in 1893, 26–02–1925.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	SPELEERS 1923B, 194 no. 1 and pl. XXIX; SPELEERS 1943, 75 no. 787 (in this publication, the negative made of a modern seal impression was reproduced in reverse).

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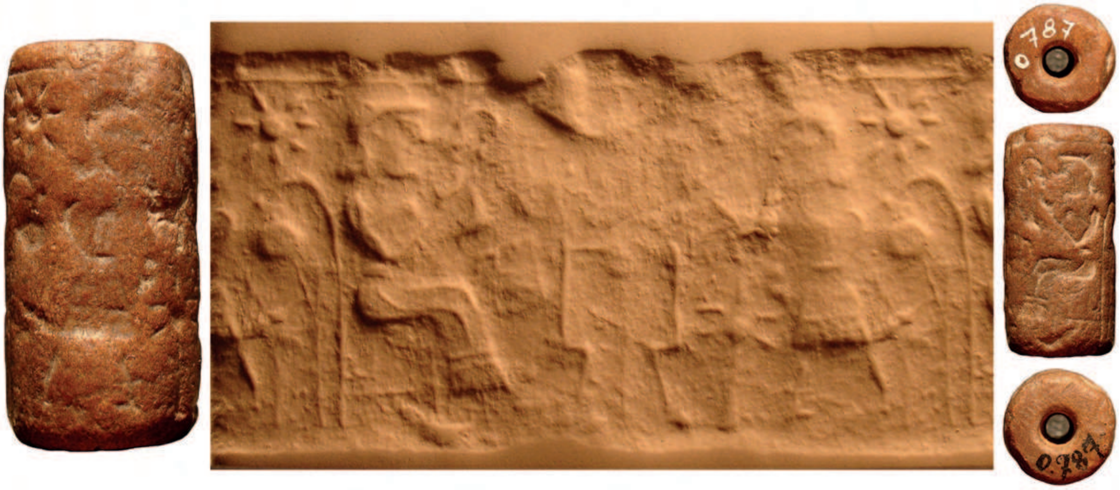
[348] The following seals attest similar quality, execution, and iconography:
– formerly kept in the Layard Collection: BOROWSKI 1952, 176–177 no. 8 ("dunkelgrüner Steatit", height: 35 mm, diameter: 10 mm) and pl. XXIII;
– Ash. 1920.49 (Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology; acquired in Beirut by C.L. Woolley): BUCHANAN 1966, 109 no. 593 ("obsidian", height: 35 mm, diameter: 11.5 [13] mm, [barrel-shaped]) and pl. 39;
– Christie's (South Kensington, London) 12–04–2000, 106–107 no. 222 ("black stone", height: 32 mm).

[349] For the iconography of vessels depicted in the Middle Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian arts, see DUISTERMAAT 2008, 461–468.

[350] CALMEYER 1973, 18–33.



Since the field is damaged – most of the contour lines have been recut, and the new seal-cutter(s) seemingly introduced some supplementary details – there are a few questions about this seal image, which represents a banquet scene and belongs to the table group. Between the borderlines (the lower one is completely missing), a banquet table appears in the middle of two figures. The table's main supporting device consists of a central upright element, while two oblique lines shape its legs, which terminate in bull's feet.[351] *The nature of the food is unclear due to the polished field; however, a hardly observable curving line can be discerned above the left side of the tabletop, which may have been associated with the neck of a bird facing left. Over the table, the contour line of a large crescent moon is on the upper field. The beardless figure on the left side is sitting on a high-backed chair whose elongated upper part, curving downwards, seems to be a recut detail. This figure is dressed in a long robe with a fringed lower edge, while an S-shaped line constitutes the pleat, running lengthwise on the lower body. In front of the sitting figure, the attendant is represented with several distorted elements, such as the lower part of his robe and his gesture; in addition, his surface patterning and visible contour lines have apparently been reshaped. Behind the two figures, a globe-shaped element can be seen with the traces of two vertical lines below it; this combination allows us to recognise a globular pot placed on a stand. Above the vessel, an eight-pointed star with a globe in the middle is depicted. Between the banquet table and the attendant, there is a questionable motif which seems to be a pot placed on a stand.*[352] *However, the globular body of the pot is encircled with five rays, resulting in a similar impression to the eight-pointed star with a globe in the middle. This fragmentary star, the stand of which composes the lowest ray, may thus be a modern copy of the other star.*

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[351] D. Collon identifies a similarly outlined structure as a cauldron with bull's feet and remarks that the horizontal line of the cauldron has to be its "ring-stand":
– BM WA 89656 – N 1213 (British Museum, "from Layard's expeditions to Mesopotamia between 1845 and 1851"): Collon 2001, 70 no. 121 ("serpentinite: black", slightly barrel-shaped, height: 39 mm, diameter: 14 [14.5] mm) and pl. X.
In the case of the present seal and the following examples, the possibility that it is a cauldron can be rejected, since there is a vertical line running across the upper half of the structure:
– Morgan 673 (Morgan Library & Museum): Porada 1948, 81 no. 673 ("black serpentine", height: 26 mm, diameter: 13 mm) and pl. XCIX;
– Ash. 1920.49 (Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology; acquired in Beirut by C.L. Woolley): Buchanan 1966, 109 no. 593 ("obsidian", height: 35 mm, diameter: 11.5 [13] mm [barrel-shaped]) and pl. 39.

[352] A similar vessel put on a stand appears in front of or behind the attendant in other banquet scenes:
– see BM WA 89656 – N 1213 in the previous footnote;
– 547 (Adana Arkeoloji Müzesi; purchased from art market in 1971): Tunca 1979, 17 no. 61 ("serpentine brune", height: 44 mm, diameter: 16 mm) and pl. VII.

Regarding the sitting figure, it is interesting to note that the head is recut and seemingly disproportionate compared to the body. Although there is no characteristic element evidencing it, this beardless figure may be a woman raising her right hand with an open palm. This gesture of the upraised hand is well known, usually holding a shallow cup; however, in this case, a curving line appears above and below it, which has led L. Speleers to identify the contour of a child in the hand of the woman: "Une femme … tient dans ses bras un enfant; elle semble l'embrasser." (SPELEERS 1923B, 194 no. 1) and "Une femme … semble tenir un enfant dans le bras droit ; elle lève la main gauche vers lui." (SPELEERS 1943, 75 no. 787).[353] Despite the fact that the female figure holding a child is attested in Akkadian glyptic art,[354] which could have led Speleers to settle on an earlier date for the object (published among the "Intailles sumer-akkadiennes" in his catalogue), this linear-style seal image can be dated to the late second or early first millennium B.C. and localised possibly to Assyria or North Syria due to its material, as tentatively confirmed by its place of acquisition.

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[353] Finally, the author remarks: "La gravure est très usée ; la présence de l'enfant n'est pas certaine ; ce qu'on en distingue, c'est une tête, à la hauteur de celle de la femme et une partie du séant vu de profil. S'il n'y a pas d'enfant, sa tête serait un motif accessoire, placé dans le champ." (SPELEERS 1943, 75 no. 787).

[354] For the theme "Die Göttin mit dem Kind" among the Akkadian cylinder seals, see BOEHMER 1965, 97–98, and for the motif of the "Woman with Child" in the 3rd millennium B.C. art, see NADALI 2014.

VII.

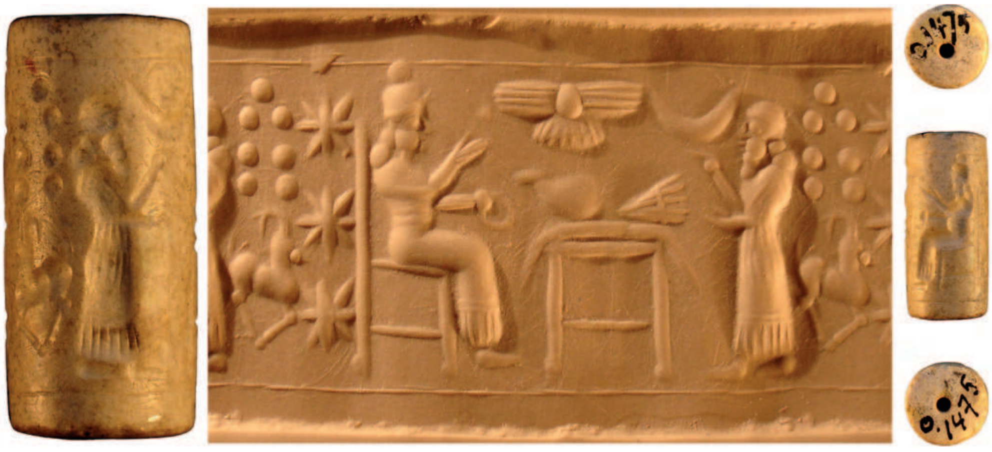
OFFERING SCENES (**57–63**)

57

OFFERING SCENE (table group)

Offering table between a deity, presumably Ištar, and a worshipper

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.1475
MATERIAL	"pierre blanche"
DIMENSIONS	height: 25.0 mm, diameter: 11.4 mm (slightly barrel-shaped), weight: 6.00 g
CONDITION	The entire surface is smooth and glossy except for a chip which obscures the upper borderline above the uppermost star of the divine throne.
PROVENANCE	Acquired from the antiquarian I. Élias Géjou in Paris (said to be from "Kerkouk"), 23–04–1936.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	SPELEERS 1936, 126 fig. 17 (in this publication, a negative made of a modern seal impression was reproduced in reverse); SPELEERS 1943, 127 no. 1475 (photo also reversed in the publication).



This offering scene, depicted between two borderlines at the top and bottom, belongs to the table group. At the centre there is an offering table which consists of a crossbar and two vertical legs, whose lower ends are marked with drill-holes. (For the offering, see below.) The goddess is sitting on a throne of which the high back is decorated with three identical eight-pointed stars, while the other parts are constituted by upright and horizontal elements; its feet terminate in drill-holes similarly to the offering table. Her divine headdress has a horn, and a drill-hole marks a globe on top. She wears a long, belted robe with fringed lower edge.

She holds the circle in her left hand, positioned at the level of her waist, and raises her right hand in a greeting position. The worshipper is depicted in the so-called devotional pose (ubāna tarāṣu). He raises his right hand and points forwards with his index finger, while his extended left hand, at the height of his waist, is depicted with an upturned open palm. He is dressed in a rounded headdress with a brim and a long robe with fringed lower edge while the curved fringe on his waist is marked with vertical lines arranged in two rows. Behind the two figures there are the Sibitti, whose globes are arranged vertically in two rows in the sky and a goat faces right on the lower field. Above the offering table there is a winged sun-disc, on the left, beside a crescent moon in the sky.

This drilled-style Neo-Assyrian offering scene is characterised by the silhouette-shaped figures and the combination of horizontal and vertical engraved lines with the frequent use of drill-holes. The faces of the divine figure and the worshipper are executed with short strokes forming the nose and lips and small drill-holes for the eyes. There are similar-style offering scenes from the De Clercq Collection[355] and the British Museum[356] respectively which depict an astral goddess, presumably Ištar, who became the goddess *par excellence* of the Mesopotamian divine world. On these offering scenes, the main figures (goddess versus worshipper) are similar to those on the present seal, but the offering is a fish, and the furniture and the filling motifs are also altered. Nevertheless, the preference for goats or gazelles can be attested on them also. Among the astral motifs, the winged sun-disc[357] is depicted differently on these Neo-Assyrian seals, but this does not help us suggest a more precise date than the 8th century for them.

On the present offering table, the horizontal line, apparently representing a textile, runs along the tabletop and folds down slightly on both sides. The question emerges whether the offering may be a bird,[358] facing left with an upraised head and slightly oval-shaped body, with its tailfeathers indicated by five diverging lines, and a slightly curved one crossing them in the middle, or whether the offering instead consists of two or three items which can be identified with different prepared foods. The first alternative can be demonstrated by the similar seal images, which clearly depict the bird on the offering table.[359] The second alternative can be confirmed thanks to other detailed seal images[360] as well as the offerings and food depictions on palace reliefs.[361] On these examples, we can recognise three kinds of food whose common appearance is similar to the shape of a bird. The first is a small container, the second is a vessel with meat, and the shape of the third is very similar to the tail of a bird, but this object, shaped by diverging lines crossed by a slightly curved line in the middle, appears to be a pile of flatbreads, as suggested by J. N. Postgate, who presented as evidence written sources mentioning such food offerings to the divinities.[362]

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[355] Formerly kept in the De Clercq Collection: DE CLERCQ – MENANT 1888, 249 no. 344 *bis* ("calcédoine blonde", height: 30 mm, diameter: 15 mm) and pl. XXXIX.

[356] BM WA 120957 – 1929–6–3, 5 (British Museum; acquired from Dr W. Corner): COLLON 2001, 74 no. 138 ("quartz, chalcedony" slightly barrel-shaped, height: 28.5 mm, diameter: 11.5 [12] mm) and pl. XI.

[357] For a repertoire and typology of winged sun-discs depicted on different objects, see PARAYRE 1989, 1990 and 1993.

[358] Fish can also be identified in other offering scenes. See for example the seals mentioned in footnotes 355 and 356 above.

[359] For a more detailed bird depiction in a similar, drilled-style offering scene:
– Morgan 700 (Morgan Library & Museum): PORADA 1948, 85 no. 700 ("yellowish chalcedony", height: 39 mm, diameter: 18 mm) and pl. CIV.

[360] See for example:
– NCBS 435 (Yale Babylonian Collection, formerly kept in the Newell Collection): VON DER OSTEN 1934, 63 no. 435 ("carnelian", height: 30 mm, diameter: 14 mm) and pl. XXIX;
– Ash. 1889.373 (Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, gift of Chester): BUCHANAN 1966, 115 no. 635 ("brownish chalcedony", height: 28 mm, diameter: 13 mm) and pl. 42.

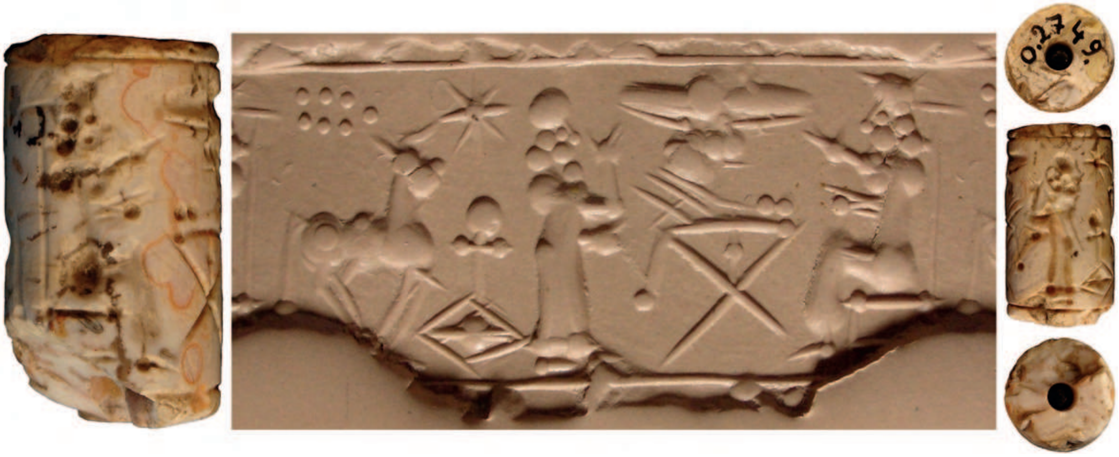
[361] The similarly shaped offerings appearing on Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs:
– Sargon II, from Khorsabad: banquet table in a feast scene (BOTTA – FLANDIN 1849–1850, I, pl. 64 [upper register]), offering table in a cultic scene (BOTTA – FLANDIN, 1849–1850, II, pl. 146);
– Ashurbanipal (from Nineveh): banquet table in a triumphal banquet scene (PLACE 1867–70, pl. 57 [lower depiction]; BARNETT 1976, pls. LXIII: slab C [upper register] and LXV), offering table in a lion hunt scene (PLACE 1867–70, pl. 57 [upper depiction]; BARNETT 1976, pl. LIX [lower register]).

58

Offering scene (table group)

Offering table apparently between a goddess and her worshipper

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2749
MATERIAL	
DIMENSIONS	height: 24.6 mm, diameter: 14.3 mm, weight: 7.68 g
CONDITION	The upper edge and the remaining part of the lower one are chipped, while nearly half of the lower edge to a maximum height of 7 mm has been broken off. Furthermore, a chip distorts the head of the goat and another the flaring tail of the winged sun-disc.
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection, 11–10–1958.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.



This offering scene, depicted between two borderlines at the top and bottom, belongs to the table group. At the centre there is a folding table upon which an offering is depicted (for the offering, see **57***). Between the tabletop and the join of the crossed legs there is a vertical link with a drill-hole in the middle, which seemingly represents a locking device to secure the open table. A textile hangs down on the left side of the tabletop and terminates in another drill-hole. Above the offering table, a winged sun-disc with flaring tail*

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[362] Postgate 2015, 165–169 (esp.), with further representations of offering tables. For previous interpretations of the offerings based on textual and iconographic sources, see Maul 1994, 54–55 and Reade 2005a, 13–15 and 23, respectively. In the case of the offering table in a lion hunt scene (Barnett 1976, pl. LIX [lower register]; Reade 2005a, 54 fig. 24), Reade describes the following: “a table … is laden with a bunch of onions [a similar-shaped object has been identified as flatbread by Postgate; see above], a small container, and a bowl containing the jaw and leg of a ram” (Reade 2005a, 23).

appears in the sky. On the left side of the scene, a bearded worshipper, depicted in devotional pose (ubāna tarāṣu), is dressed in a long robe. The goddess, who also wears a long robe, is sitting on a high-backed throne. She raises her hand in a greeting position, and her other hand is positioned at the level of her waist. Behind the two figures, an eight-pointed star with a globe in the middle appears in the sky, along with the Sibitti. Below them, there is a goat facing right (the field is broken below it), while between them, an ankh symbol appears above a rhomb on the lower field.

The figures in this drilled-style scene are characterised by their silhouette-shaped bodies with drill-holes and engraved lines. Regarding the tools used, it is interesting to note the preference for different-sized drill-holes for the shaping of unique details: see the locking device on the folding table, the row of drill-holes constituting the flaring tail of the winged sun-disc, the middle of the rhomb, and the upper part of the ankh symbol. Besides them, there are extremely deep drill-holes on the winged sun-disc, which determine the articulation of the figures and the disc. However, different filling motifs, arranged in two vertical rows behind the two figures, dominate this scene. In the shaping of the figures' heads, which reflects a high degree of stylisation, the combination of different-sized drill-holes with a stroke constituting the nose is also a characteristic element of scenes of this type. Based on the aforementioned features, the presented seal is dated to the 8th or 7th century B.C. and can be localised to the western part of the Neo-Assyrian Empire.[363] The row of drill-holes constituting the flaring tail of the sun-disc and the material (light-coloured stone) seem to confirm this localisation. For similar iconography with further examples, see **70** and **74** which depict a more and a less detailed example, respectively.

59

OFFERING SCENE (table group)

Offering table below a winged sun-disc with divine symbols between a genius and a worshipper

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.1042
MATERIAL	"agate"
DIMENSIONS	height: 26.5 mm, diameter: 15.2 mm (with convex ends), weight: 11.65 g
CONDITION	The upper edge is chipped, and the field is damaged below the genius and the worshipper. Furthermore, a chip partly distorts the winged sun-disc.
PROVENANCE	Acquired by A.K. Ebeian in Damascus, 21–02–1933.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	SPELEERS 1943, 126–127 no. 1042 (in this publication, the negative made of a modern seal impression was reproduced in reverse); VAN BUREN 1948, 117 no. 18 and pl. XVII (photo also reversed in publication).
INSCRIPTION	For the alphabetic – and presumably Aramaic – legend counting four letters on the upper field, see the discussion of B. Sass below.

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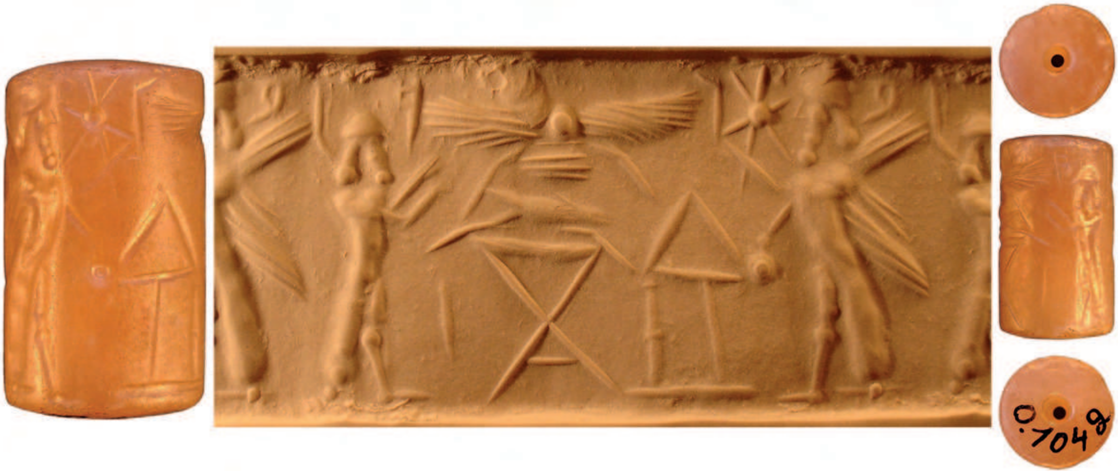
[363] The following cylinder seal provides similar features:
– Del. 349 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France): DELAPORTE 1910, 193 no. 349 ("agate bicolore", height: 21 mm, diameter: 11 mm) and pl. XXIV.



On this offering scene, a folding table below a winged sun-disc and two divine symbols are depicted between a worshipper and a genius. The folding table has a horizontal link, presumably a leather strap, between the crossed legs. On the tabletop, there is a fish, on a textile whose middle part is unmarked, which hangs down slightly on both sides. On the left side, an upright line appears which seemingly constitutes the prolongation of the textile, although there is no physical connection with it. The disc part of the winged sun-disc consists of a double drill-hole, and its extended silhouette-shaped wings are overcut by the slightly diverging lines while the oval-shaped tail is overcut by horizontal lines. The bearded worshipper, facing right, is depicted with piously upraised hands. A stylus (symbol of Nabû) and a spade (symbol of Marduk) are placed on a base marked by a horizontal line. The stem and the grand-scale outlined triangular upper part of the spade are slightly tilted to the left in order to fill the empty space on the available field. The genius, facing left, appears with one upraised hand, while in his lowered hand he holds the bucket shaped by double drill-holes, similarly to the winged sun-disc. His silhouette-shaped wings are overcut by oblique lines. Both bearded figures are depicted in a striding position and wear an open, long robe over a tunic. In the sky, in front of the genius's head there is a six-pointed star with a globe in the middle. Four alphabetic letters are arranged on the upper field.

Similar work phases and figures to those on the present seal are attested on a cylinder seal[364] acquired by Captain Felix Jones at Hit on the Euphrates. It was found together with two other cylinder seals, which belong to a group studied by D. Collon.[365] The present seal and the seal acquired at Hit have some common features: the unfinished state of the scenes, the figures' similarity, and the elongated form of the winged sun-discs (with the arrangement of the feathers). On the two seal images, the worshippers and the winged geniuses provide close parallels, such that their proportion and posture, that is, the striding movement, the hollow backs, and the open robes, may originate from the same model. The present seal is smaller than the aforementioned object; however, the worshippers' size is nearly identical. Although both seal images are left unfinished, the British Museum seal, contrary to the present seal, provides evidence of later work phases, that is, the short engravings and strokes responsible for the figures' facial features and the surface patterning of the clothes. On both seal images, which attest features of both the modelled and cut styles, the main figures, and the secondary elements (motifs and letters), some of them reflecting simplified rendering, were made by different seal-cutters.

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[364] BM WA 102963 – 1854–4–1, 3 (British Museum, "acquired by Captain Felix Jones at Hit on the Euphrates, the nearest town to Ana"): Collon 2001, 145 no. 283 ("banded carnelian: orange with a broad white band" cylinder seal with slightly convex ends, height: 39 mm, diameter: 18 mm), pls. XXIII and XLIII.

[365] D. Collon presents the cylinder seal (see previous footnote) with the following two objects:
– BM WA 89155 – 1854–4–1, 1 (British Museum, "acquired by Captain Felix Jones at Ana on the Euphrates"): Collon 2001, 144–145 no. 282 ("quartz, chalcedony: blue" cylinder seal with slightly convex ends, height: 38 mm, diameter: 18 mm), pls. XXIII and XLIII);
– BM WA 89154 – 1854–4–1, 2 (British Museum, "acquired by Captain Felix Jones at Ana on the Euphrates"): Collon 2001, 145–147 no. 284 ("quartz, chalcedony: blue" cylinder seal with convex ends, height: 40 mm, diameter: 19 mm) and pl. XXIII.
For the common characteristics of the three seals, see Collon 2001, 146–147.

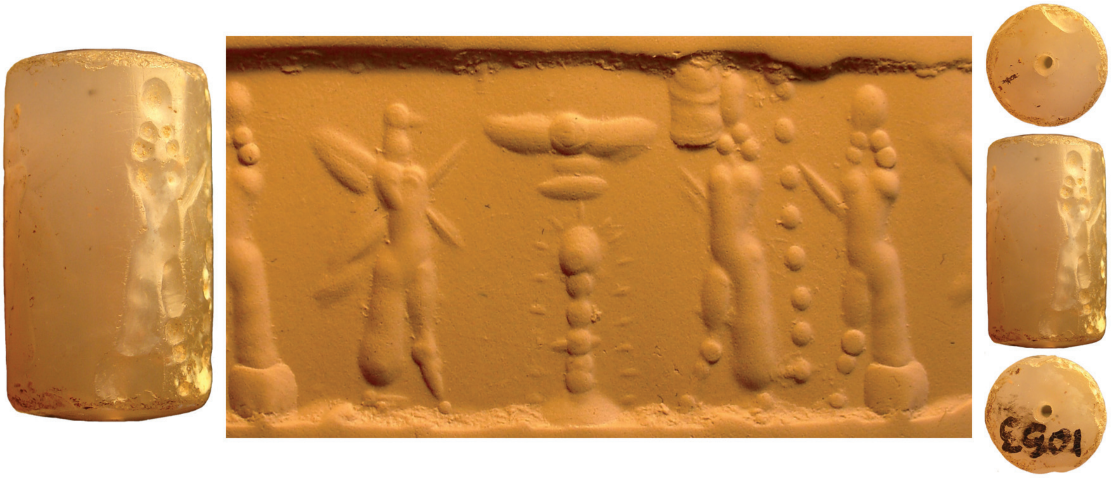

Fig. 7: CBS 1053 cylinder seal ("blue chalcedony", height: 25.9 mm, diameter: 14.7 mm, with convex ends) and its modern impression (see footnote 366).

We may assume that the cylinder seal kept in the Penn Museum (fig. 7)[366] shares similar features with the studied seals. The Penn Museum seal provides the first work-phases which show the silhouette-shaped main elements (the figures' bodies, the trunk of the stylised tree, and the main elements of the winged sun-disc) with the large drill-holes, but the subsequent work-phases, except for the light engravings surrounding the stylised tree, are omitted. On these seal images, we can conclude that there is a preference for divine symbols with genius in front of a worshipper, as well as a winged sun-disc depicted using an elongated narrow silhouette. The figures are characterised by the S-shaped line of their body posture, and the striding legs with knees in recurved position. The beard and shoulder-length hair of the figures are designated by different-sized drill-holes. Furthermore, they have simplified hands and fingers on each hand (when they are shaped), and the winged sun-discs are overcut by fine lines marking the feathers. On these figures the first or preliminary work phases are completed, but they have not been finished; furthermore, the figures on the same seal have been left in different phases.[367] Based on the appearance of the figures, the winged sun-disc, the seal legends, and the shape of the cylinder seals, D. Collon argues for the Babylonian origin of the seals of similar style kept in the British Museum and dates them to the 7th century B.C., which appears to be acceptable in the case of the present seal.

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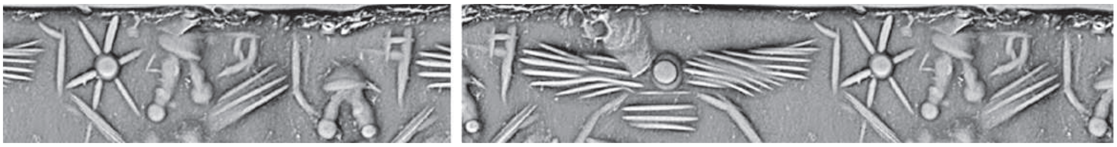
[366] CBS 1053 (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, acquired in Baghdad in 1889): Legrain 1925, 304–305 no. 595 ("blue chalcedony") and pl. XXXI (height: 25.9 mm, diameter: 14.7 mm, with convex ends – studied directly in May 2016 by the present author).

[367] D. Collon argues that some of the figures have been transformed and that the newly added details changed the character of the objects she studied (Collon 2001, 146–147 no. 284).

NOTES ON THE ARAMAIC(?) INSCRIPTION OF **59**

Benjamin SASS

INSCRIPTION *ḥlbw*(?) or *bwḥ*(?) – Aramaic(?) (fig. 8.A–B)
BIBLIOGRAPHY SPELEERS 1943, 126–127 no. 1042.



A B

Figs. 8 (A–B): Modern impression: two alternative legend boundaries of 59 (image of Hendrik Hameeuw).

I. *Position and orientation of the legend*. The right-to-left legend (in the impression), presumably in the Aramaic alphabet, is an addition to the originally anepigraphic seal. About 45% of the circumference at the top are occupied by a winged disk. The other 55% are taken by a six-pointed star, the heads of the genius and worshipper and the spaces in between, and it is in these spaces that the legend has been incompetently inserted.[368] The four signs are indeed so sketchy that Speleers failed to notice the legend; he only remarked on a "motif sans signification" above the worshipper.[369] This is perhaps the reason why our legend has never been taken up in the post-1943 literature, and it is thanks to Z. Niederreiter that it has finally been detected.

II. *Reading and meaning of the legend.* Where are the legend's boundaries? If we go by the tightest grouping of the letters (fig. 8.A), the name begins to the right of the worshipper's head, and ends to the left of the star (on the impression), occupying 45% of the circumference. If so, it possibly reads *ḥlbw*: The first letter may pass as a slipshod *ḥet*.[370] The next shape, if a letter at all, must be an unsuccessful *lamed* – with an obtuse rather than the normative acute angle. It is followed by a *bet* with an archaic closed head, badly incised yet recognisable, then by what seems a more advanced *waw*.

But if the presumed *lamed* is understood as the genitive marker (Z. Niederreiter's suggestion), it would be followed by a three-letter name. In that case the entire sequence from *lamed* to *ḥet* and including the winged disk in its midst, would occupy 90% of the seal's circumference (fig. 8.B).

While the four signs resemble West Semitic letters to varying degrees, this identification is not guaranteed; a pseudo-inscripton is a conceivable alternative. But if the legend is West Semitic (it is not Arabian), the alphabet would almost certainly be Aramaic – there are hardly any cylinder seals with alphabetic inscriptions other than Arabian and Aramaic.[371] In that case *bwḥ* does not ring a bell for a personal name. Yet *ḥlbw*, hitherto unattested, can perhaps be viewed as a variant of *ḥlpw*, itself an *Ersatzname* with *ḥlp*, "replace".[372] The names *ḥlpw*, *ḥlpn*, *ḥlpt* etc. are quite frequent in the Aramaic ostraca of the 4th century B.C. reputed to come from Idumaea, and in the Samaria papyri,[373] but none alphabetic in the 9th–7th centuries B.C. that I know of. The spelling with *bet* of original *ḥlp* is attested in *ḥlbbh*, "succession", in 8th century B.C. Sam'alian.[374]

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[368] For other originally anepigraphic seals to which the legend's letters have been added in a similar manner compare SASS 1991, 48–49; SASS 2015.

[369] The worshipper's head is flanked by the *ḥet* and *lamed,* but Speleers has not specified which one of them he had in mind.

[370] Quite probably it is not a *waw* with a superfluous, accidental stroke, as the letter to the left of the star can itself be hardly anything but a *waw*.

[371] See BORDREUIL 1992, 89.

[372] Could *ḥlbw* be understood alternatively as a *nomen agentis*, "milker, dairyman"? Perhaps not a gentilic, "Aleppine", where *ḥlby* is expected, for which compare cuneiform Ḫallāpāia, Ḫallapāiu (SCHWEMER 2000 = PNA 2, I, 443).

[373] E.g. EPH'AL – NAVEH 1996, 99; LEMAIRE 1996, 25, 100; DUŠEK 2007, 424; YARDENI 2016, 675, 678–680.

[374] E.g. LEMAIRE – SASS 2013, 121 with note 129.

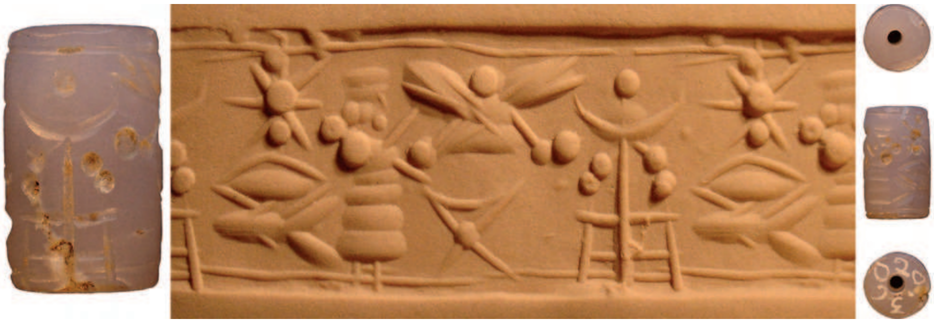
III. *Paleography and dating.* With such an inferior 'hand', the palaeographic dating of the legend cannot be certain. Perhaps the likeliest time for the coexistence of the archaic *bet* and more advanced *waw* was the 7th century B.C., which matches Z. Niederreiter's stylistic dating of the seal.

60

OFFERING SCENE (table group)

Offering table below a winged sun-disc, between a worshipper and a divine standard

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.3602
MATERIAL	"opal"
DIMENSIONS	height: 14.6 mm, diameter: 8.8 mm (slightly barrel-shaped), weight: 1.98 g
CONDITION	The upper and lower edges are slightly damaged.
PROVENANCE	Acquired from the antiquarian Edgar Beer (Brussels), 17–07–1970.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.



This offering scene, depicted between two borderlines at the top and bottom, belongs to the table group, though there is no offering on it. A folding table, on which the join of the crossed legs is marked by a drill-hole, is situated below a winged sun-disc at the centre of the scene. This upper emblem consists of a central disc, wings, flaring tail, and two hanging globe-tipped streamers. On the left side of the central motifs there is a worshipper depicted in a long robe, while on the other side of the folding table there is a divine standard surmounted by a tasselled crescent moon and supported by a rectangular frame. Behind the worshipper, an eight-pointed star with a globe in the middle, a rhomb, and a fish facing left are arranged in a vertical row.

This small seal depicts an offering scene with the usual figures and motifs. However, the iconography and the use of tools reflect several unusual elements. In the case of the winged sun-disc, the silhouette-shaped wings are overcut by lines reflecting a very confused arrangement of feathers, while the central disc is placed too high, and one groove occupies its usual place and another groove forms the tail below it. Similar grooves were used to shape the worshipper's headdress and lower body, an unfamiliar approach in similar scenes. It is also worth mentioning the shaping of the worshipper's feet, which are formed by one single horizontal engraving and two straight upright ones which cross the lower borderline and end at the lower edge. There is a large drill-hole, without any particular meaning, above, and another beside the crescent moon. Furthermore, two other drill-holes distort the eight-pointed star with a globe in the middle, another unusual choice by the seal-cutter. The question emerges whether these holes were added to the seal image later on. In sum, these unusual characteristics also raise the problem of the authenticity of this seal, acquired in 1970; there appears to be no definitive evidence on this score. Similar iconography and use of tools can be found among a few small seals. A cylinder seal from Kalḫu provides the same participants, though a stylised tree appears instead of the offering table below the winged sun-disc.[375] Other seal images[376] attest other similar features: the standard surmounted by the tasselled crescent moon and fixed in a rectangular support, the freely dispersed large holes, and similar filling motifs. Regarding the astral symbols, it is worth mentioning that the present seal provides, in front of the worshipper, the three most important motifs, namely, the winged sun-disc, the eight-pointed star with a globe, and the crescent moon in the upper field – the last of these being depicted as an emblem on a standard, an interesting combination.

61

OFFERING SCENE

Priest and female worshipper in front of Ištar

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.1464	Plate 18.
MATERIAL	"agate"	
MEASURES	height: 23.5 mm, diameter: 12.8 mm, weight: 6.44 g	
CONDITION	The upper and lower edges are slightly chipped. Furthermore, the lower edge has been broken off at the height of the priest's feet.	
PROVENANCE	Acquired from the antiquarian I. Élias Géjou in Paris, 23–04–1936.	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	SPELEERS 1943, 128 no. 1464 and 187 (in this publication, a negative made of a modern seal impression was reproduced in reverse); BRON 1977, 238–239 no. 4; SASS 1991, 51–53: Brussels seal and fig. 30; BRON 2001, 147; GUBEL 2007E, 285 no. Sceau-cylindre 598.	

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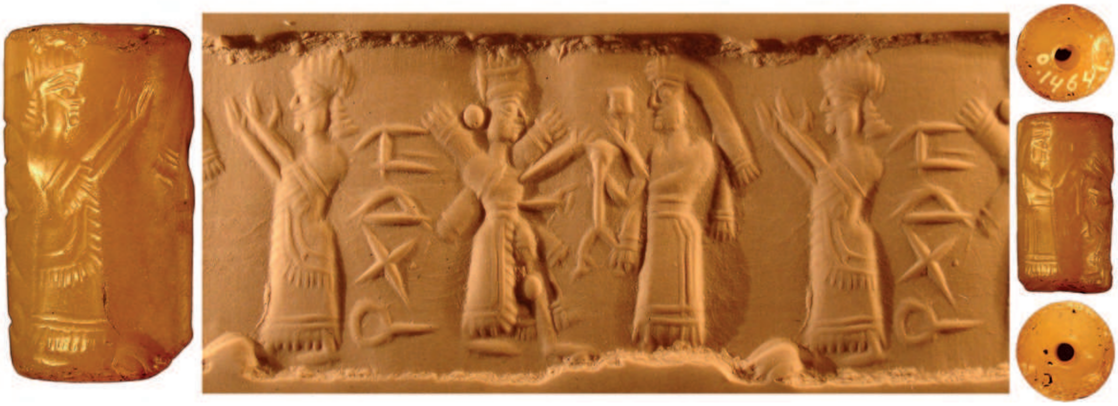
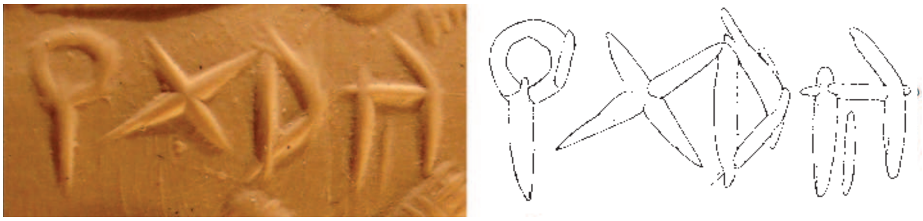
[375] ND 6086 (from Kalḫu): PARKER 1962, 33: ND.6086 ("rock crystal", height: 15 mm) and pl. XVI: 1.
Regarding the style and the use of tools, the following unprovenanced cylinder seals can be compared to the present seal:
- Anavian Collection: VOLK 1979, no. 210 ("cornelian", height: 15 mm, diameter: 8 mm);
- D. 1545 (Royal Ontario Museum): MEEK 1943, 7 no. 30 ("chalcedony" cylinder seal with slightly convex ends, height: 21 mm, diameter: 11 mm) and pl. III;
- M.960 (National Museum of Aleppo): HAMMADE 1987, 138–139 no. 269 ("agate", height: 28 mm, diameter: 14 mm).

[376] See for example:
- Del. 339 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, formerly kept in the Lajard Collection, acquired in 1844): LAJARD 1847, 5 and pl. XVII: 7; DELAPORTE 1910, 189 no. 339 ("calcédoine jaunâtre", height: 21 mm, diameter: 10 mm) and pl. XXIII;
- Del. 340 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, acquired by P. E. Botta in 1846): DELAPORTE 1910, 189–190 no. 340 ("cornaline", height: 24 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and pl. XXIII;
- Brett Collection: VON DER OSTEN 1936, 18 no. 121 ("rose quartz", height: 23 mm, diameter: 11 mm) and pl. XI;
- Princeton 28 (Princeton University Library): GORDON 1953, 249–250 no. 37 ("white chalcedony") and pl. LXIX.





INSCRIPTION For the Arabian legend consisting of four letters behind Ištar and the female worshipper, see the discussion by B. Sass below.

This offering scene depicts Ištar facing right in front of a priest and a female worshipper. Ištar is depicted with a divine headdress of which the upper part consists of a row of feathers, with a long, belted robe and double quivers crossed on her shoulders. Her right hand is raised in greeting posture and the other is positioned at waist level. In front of her, a priest is dressed in a long, belted robe which terminates in a long-fringed hem, and three lines running from the belt mark its pleat. Besides this Babylonian-fashion cloth, the priest wears a particular headdress which completely covers his hair, folds down behind his shoulder, and terminates in a fringed end, while the other fringed end of the headdress is above his forehead. His long shawl is thrown over his shoulder and hangs down behind his back as a tassel, while its other end seems to be wrapped around his right upper arm and hangs below his elbow. He holds a rectangular object in his upraised left hand and, in his right, a stand which consists of a shaft with broadening upper part and terminates in bull's hooves.[377] *The female worshipper, behind the priest, is depicted with upraised hands and open palms held in front of her face. She has shoulder-length hair seemingly held with a band. Above her long robe terminating in a fringed hem, she is dressed in a cloak which terminates in a fringed hem below her elbow and in a curved fringe at waist height.*[378] *There are four Arabian letters behind Ištar and the female worshipper.*

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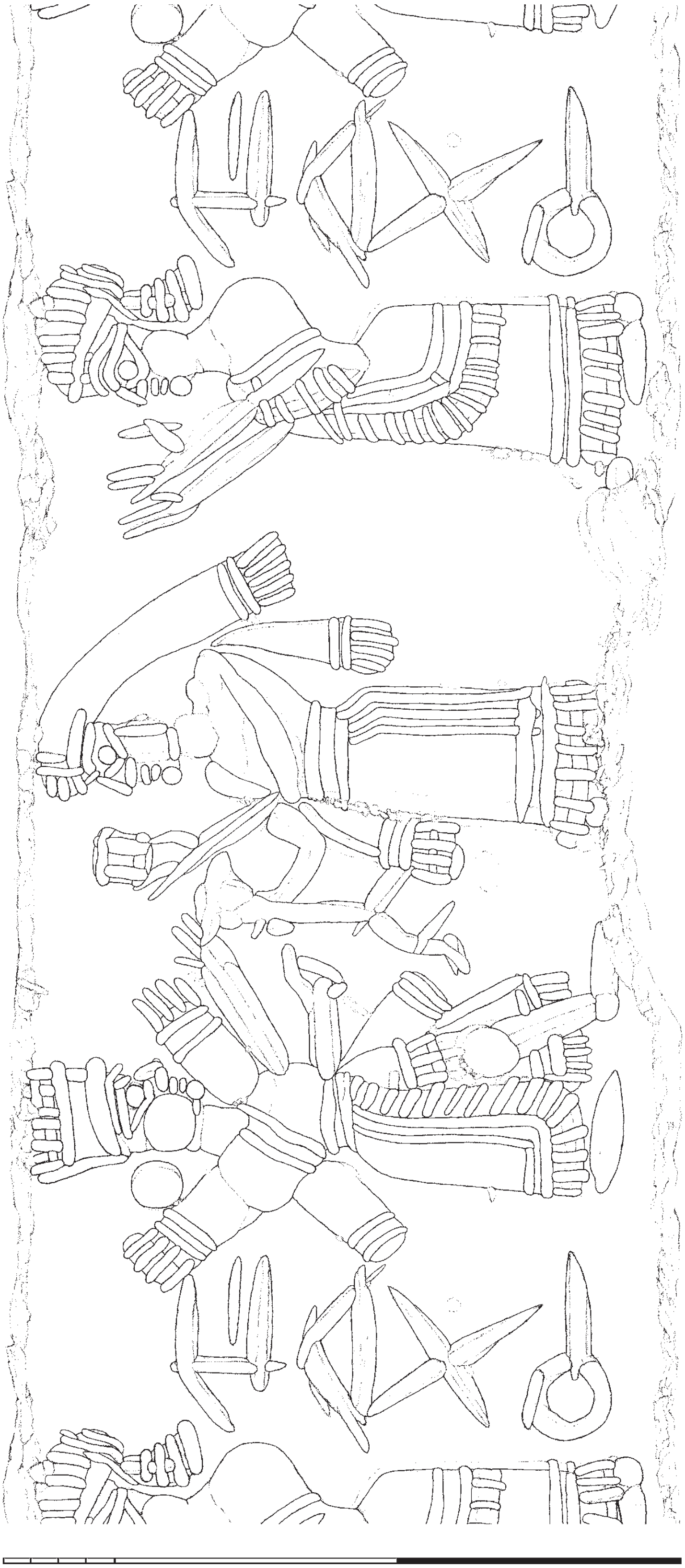
[377] B. Sass identifies this figure as a worshipper who holds a metal stand and a goblet (SASS 1991, 51–52), while, according to E. Gubel, this figure is "un prêtre suivi d'un croyant faisant des libations à une statue cultuelle de la déesse Ishtar" (GUBEL 2007E, 285 no. Sceau-cylindre 598).

[378] The following seal provides a similar figure in terms of clothing and position, but is more detailed and reflects higher quality in the shaping:
– BM WA 134769 – 1966–2–18, 30 (British Museum, formerly kept in the Churchill Collection): COLLON 2001, 121 no. 230 ("chalcedony: grey-blue" slightly barrel-shaped, height: 26.5 mm, diameter: 11 [13] mm), pls. XVIII and XLII.



Although the goddess does not have any astral symbols, the quivers allow us to identify her with the armed Ištar. The first figure in front of the goddess is identified as a priest based on his clothing and his intermediate position between the goddess and the worshipper; moreover, he carries the accessories of a cultic offering. The metal stand (apparently a tripod, though depicted with two legs) in his right hand seems to be an incense-burner (thymiaterion).[379] In view of the rectangular object held in his left hand, the question emerges whether this small box contains the incense meant to be put on the stand for the ritual or whether this object is an offering.

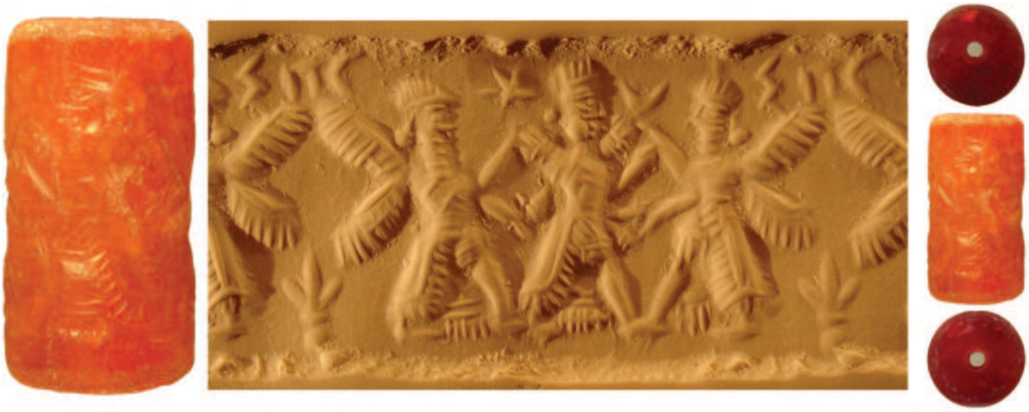


Fig. 9: GS 30124 cylinder seal ("cornaline rouge", height: 24.9 mm, diameter: 13.0 mm) and its modern impression (see footnotes 380 and 382). © Dutch National Museum of Antiquities (photographs taken by the author).[380]

Regarding the iconography and the inscription, it is worth mentioning a cylinder seal inscribed with an Arabian legend, formerly kept in the Surena Collection, on which Ištar is mounted on a recumbent lion in front of two bearded worshippers.[381] Another cylinder seal inscribed with an Arabian inscription, kept formerly in the Cabinet royal des médailles à La Haye, now in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden – Dutch National Museum of Antiquities (fig. 9),[382] provides a close parallel to the present goddess. The goddess is depicted wearing a divine headdress with a row of feathers, crossed quivers, and a long open robe which reveals her left leg. Although this seal image is smaller, on the face we can see the same combination of drill-holes and light engravings. The eye, nose, lips, face and hair are similarly shaped; in addition, compared to the detailed and articulated body, the arms of the divine figures are awkwardly shaped on both seals. The main characteristics of the seal image (the hollow-backed bodies of the figures, the hem on the priest's dress) attest Babylonian influence. Similarly to our seal, dated to the late 8th or the 7th century B.C., both aforementioned seals are inscribed with Arabian legends.[383]

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[379] The following cylinder seal provides a stand for a lamp, depicted with two legs:

– MMA 1999.325.103 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art; gift of Nanette B. Kelekian, in memory of Charles Dikran and Beatrice Kelekian); for this unpublished cylinder seal ("brown chalcedony", height: 28 mm, diameter: 15 mm), see http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/327699 (accessed 10–09–2018).

For another lampstand, but depicted with tree legs:

– formerly kept in the De Clercq Collection: De Clercq – Menant 1888, 204 no. 374 ("calcédoine", height: 28 mm, diameter: 15 mm) and pl. XXXIV.

For another lampstand, see Seidl 2004, 60–61 no. 4.3.2.3. For a similar-shaped stand held by a goddess on an Urartian cylinder seal:

– NCBS 426 (Yale Babylonian Collection, formerly kept in the Newell Collection): von der Osten 1934, 65 no. 445 ("smoky chalcedony") (height: 31.8 mm, diameter: 16.3 mm – studied directly in May 2016 by the present author) and pl. XXX; Seidl 1979, 145 fig. 2.

[380] I am very grateful to Lucas Petit (Curator of the Department Ancient Near East, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden – Dutch National Museum of Antiquities), who allowed me to study and publish the cylinder seal.

[381] Christie's (New York) 11–06–2001, 73 no. 530; Bron 2001, 147; Niederreiter – Sass 2018b, 280–282 fig. 6.

[382] GS 30124 (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden – Dutch National Museum of Antiquities, formerly kept in the Cabinet royal des médailles à La Haye [M.136]): Lajard 1847, 9 and pl. XXXIII: 8; Menant 1878, 56 no. 136–84 ("calcédoine"); Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1952, 33 no. 124 ("cornaline rouge", height: 24.9 mm, diameter: 13.0 mm – studied directly in September 2014 by the author). As for the inscription, the seal bears "une légende en caractères dits phéniciens" according to Lajard 1847, 9 pl. XXXIII no. 8 or "derrière les deux personnages ailés, trois caractères Sassanides" according to Menant 1878, 56 no. 136–84.

Notes on the Arabian inscription of **61**

Benjamin Sass

INSCRIPTION	*ytfk* / *kfty* – Arabian (fig. 10)
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Speleers 1943, 128 no. 1464 and 187; Bron 1977, 238–239; Bron 1985, 340; Sass 1991, 52–53, fig. 30.

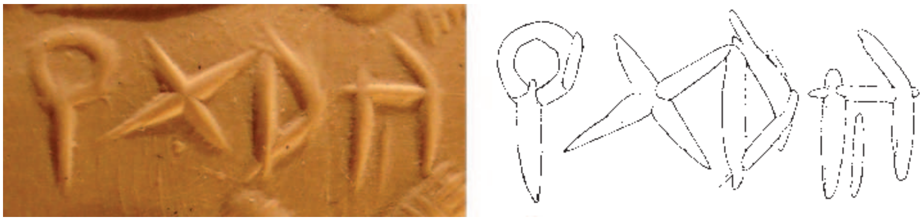

Fig. 10: Modern impression: legend of 61 (image and drawing by Z. Niederreiter).

I. *Position of the legend*. The legend (fig. 10) is carved vertically in the space between the backs of the deity and the worshipper, a location that may have been planned in advance.[384]

II. *Prior understanding of the legend*. Speleers (1943, 128) thought the legend runs right to left on the impression, and transliterated *krty*. Bron (1977, 239), maintained the orientation, and corrected the reading to *kfty*. Presumably since no Arabian meaning came to mind, he thought of an Akkadian personal name like *kupputu*, but Bron's references (*ibid*., notes 14, 15) were to Kup(p)upu and Kupupti, whose Arabian alphabetic transliteration would have been *kff* and *kffty*.[385] In my earlier treatment[386] I followed Bron's identification of the letters but hesitated about the orientation.

III. *Orientation, palaeography and dating*. The *ta* and *ya* are symmetrical, so that they cannot inform us on the direction of the legend. As for the *kaf*, in the established, more developed South Arabian alphabets the oblique stroke points backwards, to the beginning of the line. If our early *kaf* behaves similarly, the reading of the name would be *ytfk*, but one cannot be sure. Regarding the orientation of the archaic D-shaped *fa*, there is obviously no help from the more developed, symmetrical successors of this shape – lentoid, then rhomboid. The few documented D-shaped parallels are likewise of no use in this respect.[387] As to dating, the D-shaped *fa* belongs to the initial stage of the Arabian alphabets, when links to absolute chronology more precise than the time-span of the 8th–7th centuries B.C. are wanting.

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[383] For their inscriptions, see footnotes 381 and 382, and the next section written by B. Sass.

[384] Compare Sass 1991, figs. 18, 19 and 26.

[385] Tallon 2000 = PNA 2, I, 639: Kupputu. Assyrian and Babylonian names in Arabian alphabetic transliteration are not infrequent on seals (e.g. Sass 2015).

[386] Sass 1991, 53.

[387] "Note that their stances are not fixed in the sense that the direction of writing cannot be determined by them; on the Walters Art Gallery seal *fa* and *ra* are both dextro-sinistral, while on the Erlenmeyer cylinder seal they point in opposite directions" (Sass 1991, 80; see also *ibid*., 85; and Sass 2005, 119 with note 189).

IV. *The name*. The seal owner's name was either *ytfk* or *kfty*. I have no suggestion for the former. The latter could perhaps transliterate the Akkadian hypocoristic Kabtāia, Kabtî, or the like, "Honoured is [DN]",[388] but the name is not long enough or common enough for this option to become a certainty.

APPENDIX TO **61**.
Benjamin SASS

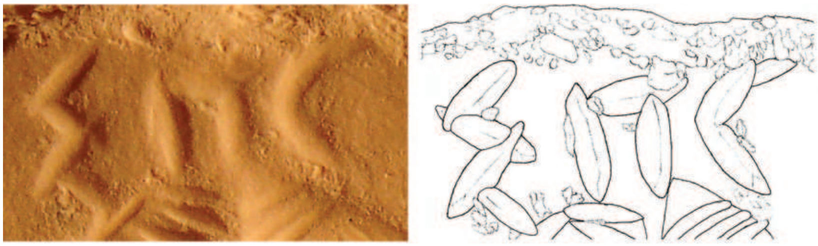

Fig. 11: Modern impression: legend of GS 30124 (formerly M.136) cylinder seal (image and its drawing by Z. Niederreiter).

I. *Arabian Inscription of* GS 30124 (formerly M.136) (fig. 11 and footnote 382): The three-letter legend reads *s*^{2}*br* or *s*^{2}*kr*: The middle letter is either a *ba*, its top bar inadvertently extending to the right (in the impression), or a variant of *kaf* known in cursive South Arabian and also in later Thamudic.[389] A name like the very common *s*^{2}*kr* comes to mind,[390] or *s*^{2}*br*,[391] each with several possible Arabian or West Semitic etymologies and vocalisations.[392]

Zadok (1977, 234, 325, note 4) considered *Bīt S/Šab/p-ru-ʾ*, the name of a settlement in the region of Uruk in the 6th century B.C., to be Arabian in origin.

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[388] BAKER 2000 = PNA 2, I, 593–594: Kabtî; PEARCE – WUNSCH 2014, 62.

[389] A similar-shaped Arabian *ġa* may also exist, but a personal name *s*^{2}*ġr* is unknown to me.

[390] *s*^{2}*kr*: RYCKMANS 1934: 209; HARDING 1971, 353 (× 35); ZADOK 1977, 334, 337 note 4; SAID 1995, 35; HAYAJNEH 1998, 170, 321.

[391] *s*^{2}*br*: RYCKMANS 1934, 205; HARDING 1971, 338 (× 33); ZADOK 1977, 135, 303 note 3; HAYAJNEH 1998, 166, 320.

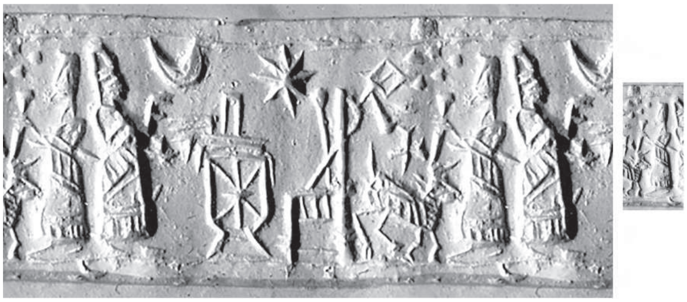
[392] E.g. ZADOK 1977, 337, note 4; MURTONEN 1989, 410, 423.

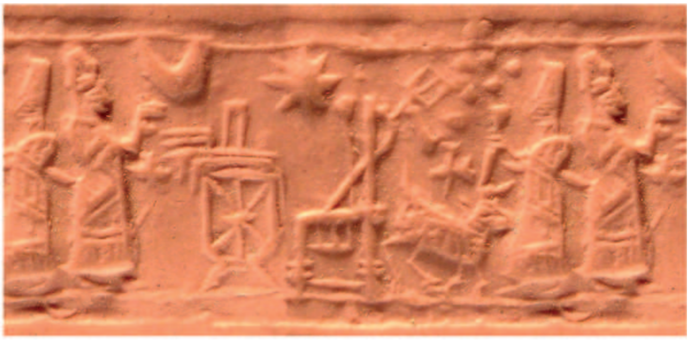
62

Offering scene

Offering of a priest in front of two divine emblems and the sacrifice of a goat by another priest

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.465 (present location unknown)[393]
MATERIAL	"pierre noire bleuâtre"
DIMENSIONS	height: 17 mm, diameter: 9 mm, weight: unknown
CONDITION	An oblique abrasion partly covers the lowered hand of the priest facing right.
PROVENANCE	According to L. Speleers's descriptions (Speleers 1920, 14; Speleers 1923a, 20), l'abbé de Genouillac acquired the cylinder seals (O.414–468) in Baghdad during his travels of 1911–12. The museum bought this lot in Paris (1913).
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Speleers 1917, 191 no. 465; Speleers 1923a, 49 no. 465 and Pl. VII; Danthine 1939, 859–860 and pl. I: fig. 2; Porada 1948, 97; Giovino 2006, 120–121 and 228 fig. 208.





This scene, depicted between two borderlines at the top and bottom, represents an offering and an animal sacrifice. The tall headdress (similar to a fez)[394] *worn by the two figures and their beardless faces make it evident that they are priests.*[395] *Their long robes have fringes at their waist and fringed lower edges. The figure facing right, who is taller than the other, is represented in the so-called devotional pose (*ubāna tarāṣu*), as a gesture in front of the offering table and the throne. The offering table has bull's feet and a rectangular*

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[393] Description was made of the base of the two available, poor-quality seal impressions (one of them is known based on an image), while the parameters of the cylinder seal come from earlier publications and the museum archive.

upper part, which consists of a central horizontal line from which six fixing elements emerge. On the tabletop, the two horizontal lines designate two stacked textiles, which run along the tabletop and fold down slightly on their left side, while a narrow line folds down on the right side, seemingly another textile. For the offering, see ***57****. The throne has a high backrest whose lower part has a crossbar, and below its seat the cloth is marked by three strokes with a closing border, while the feet have pine-cone shapes with a double stroke. On the throne seat there are two divine emblems: an upright mace and an obliquely placed crook, which overlaps the backrest in the middle.*[396] *Behind the throne, there is a flag held by a hand, and the arm up to the shoulder is observable. In the sacrifice scene, behind the throne, the other priest slays a goat with a sword. At his waist height, an obliquely oriented engraving indicates his sheath. The goat is depicted with a horn, a stubby upright tail, naturalistically shaped hooves, and striped strokes designating the fur on its neck and body. The goat appears in reclining position with bent forelegs; above its back, there is the sign* MAŠ (*or* BAR), *turned 90 degrees. In the sky, a crescent moon and an eight-pointed star are depicted above the offering table. Above the goat sacrifice, there are the Sibitti, of which one of the seven globes seems to be covered partly by the flag.*

The present seal provides a unique moment – the slaying of a goat – in glyptics. Similar depictions of goat sacrifice and offering are found in camp scenes known from Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs.[397] The goat's posture and its detailing reflect the high quality of the linear-style seal image, since its hind legs are higher up on the ground plane than its forelegs, which are depicted bent down. The evocation of the divinities constitutes another interesting element of this scene, since they are represented by divine emblems set on the throne. As for the offering, a cylinder seal kept in the British Museum[398] provides a close parallel. On it, a bearded figure appears with a knife in front of a fish with what seems to be a vessel placed on the offering table (on the tabletop, the double textiles designated by the two horizontal lines fold down at the figure's side). On the other side of the offering table, there is a divine throne, with a mace and an axe depicted in upright position on its seat. These seals and the Neo-Assyrian reliefs[399] depicting camp scenes during military campaigns have in common emblems evoking the divine presence. Besides the choice of the divine symbols, the flag held by a hand behind the throne is a peculiar choice – but it is possible that this flag depicts sign GAL, in which case the signs BAR.GAL along with the sacrificed animal representing sign UDU, can be interpreted as male lamb (UDU.BAR.GAL Akkadian *parru*). Thus the combination of these three elements could refer to the sacrificed animal, though the animal is depicted with horns and therefore better identified as a goat. As for the event depicted on the present scene, the question emerges whether the three astral symbols imply that it happened after sunset.[400]

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[394] For the appearance of the fez as elite headgear, see READE 2009.

[395] For depictions of priests in Neo-Assyrian iconography, see COLLON 1999, 24–25 (esp.).

[396] E. Porada does not mention the crook, but identifies the mace as "a royal symbol" and the throne as "the king's chair", and according to her interpretation "the mace may be substituting for a king" (PORADA 1948, 97).

[397] READE 2005A, 43 fig. 11, 45 fig. 13, 46 fig. 14, 49 fig. 17.

[398] BM WA 89470 – 1869–6–1, 1 (British Museum, acquired from P. Albert): COLLON 2001, 76 no. 147 ("agate: banded, white, grey and brown" slightly barrel-shaped; height: 30 mm, diameter: 12 [13] mm) and pl. XI.

[399] See footnote 397.

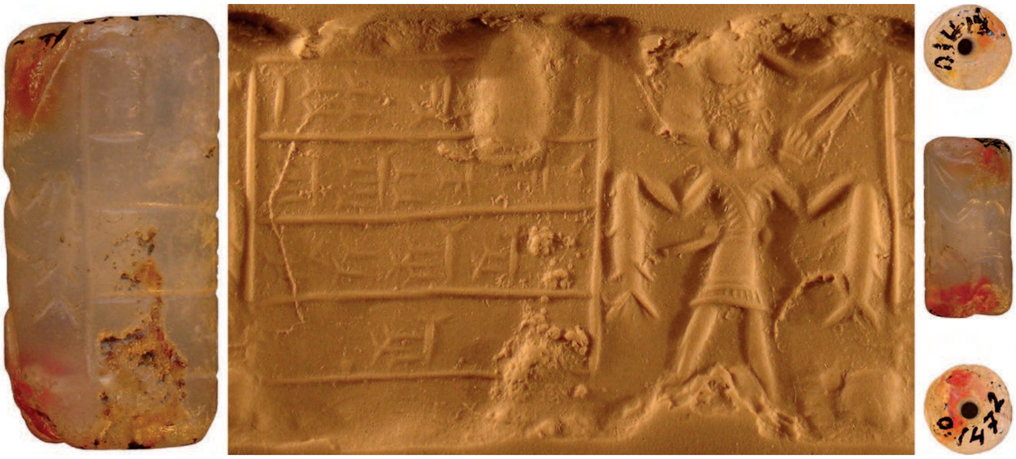
[400] For the question of the connection between the magical events depicted on the seal images, the part of the day in which they happened, and the use of the cylinder seals, see SALJE 1997; WEE 2014.

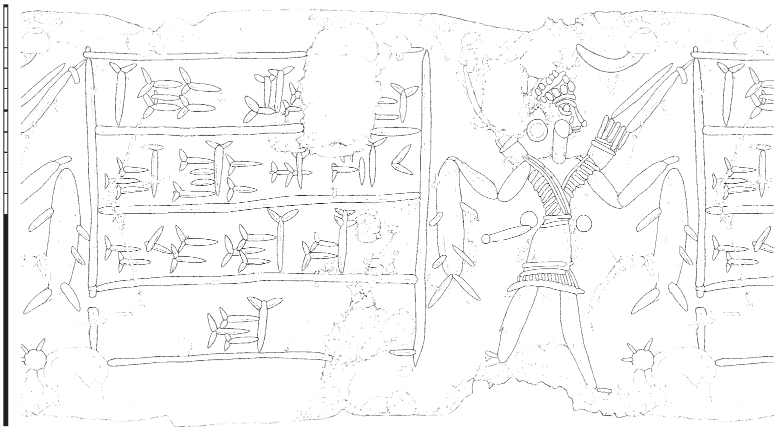
63

Offering scene

Armed worshipper carrying a fish in each hand

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.1472
MATERIAL	“calcédoine”
DIMENSIONS	height: 19.9 mm, diameter: 10.1 mm, weight: 3.46 g
CONDITION	The upper and lower edges are heavily chipped, and further large chips distort the inscription (lines 1 and 4) and the upper and lower parts of the field. Most of the left-hand bow with its quiver, the star, and the worshipper’s feet are invisible.
PROVENANCE	Acquired from the antiquarian I. Élias Géjou in Paris (said to be from “Tell Amran [?]”), 23–04–1936.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Speleers 1943, 123 no. 1472 (in this publication, a negative made of a modern seal impression was reproduced in reverse); van Buren 1948, 114 no. 13 and pl. XVI (photo also reversed in the publication); Amiet 1973a, 18, 29 no. 33 and pl. VI: 33; Potts 1999, 295–296 fig. 8.7.3.





Seal legend on the impression (**63**).

inscription

1) ^{m}I-ku(?)-x-	Iku[x]na,
2) na šak ^{d}Hu-	the son of Huban-
3) ban-na-pír-	napir.
4) na	

The transliteration and the translation are by Jan Tavernier.[401]

bibliography Speleers 1943, 123 no. 1472; Amiet 1973a, 29 no. 33; Zadok 1984, 12; Hinz – Koch 1987, 679; Potts 1999, 295.

Next to a framed inscription panel characterising the inscribed Neo-Elamite cylinder seals, this offering scene depicts an armed worshipper who holds a fish by the head in each hand. He wears a hair band and a belted tunic with fringed end, the upper part of which consists of two crossed fringes from the shoulder to the belt; however, his arms are left uncovered. He has crossed quivers, in which the bows are placed, and a sword at his waist. In the sky, a crescent moon appears above the left shoulder of the worshipper, and there is a star, which seems to be an eight-pointed star with a globe in the middle, below the fish held in his left hand. Among the points of the star, only three are visible because of a chip. The four lines of the Neo-Elamite inscription, which takes up most of the left half of the field, are framed by lines, and there are further rulings between the four lines. The inscription provides the name of the seal-bearer and his father's name.

This seal image, carved in the modelled style, exhibits light detailing of the figure's face and clothing. Compared to the relatively small size of the scene, the detailed treatment of the worshipper reflects the characteristics of high-quality Neo-Elamite seals. As for the identity of the figure, P. Amiet identifies it as a "divinité, peut-être feminine" (Amiet 1973a, 18 no. 33). Since the figure has no definite female characteristics, however, we can identify it as a beardless male whose hair is bound by a band and who is dressed in a short robe with a sword at the waist and quivers with bows crossed on his back. Moreover, this fish-bearer has no divine attributes. As regards contemporary seals depicting fish-bearers, we can note a Neo-Babylonian seal which represents a worshipper and a fish-bearer in front of a sitting goddess.[402] This fish-bearer has a different character compared to the present figure, since he is a bearded hero depicted with a long robe, who grasps two fish by the caudals and rests his right foot on the third fish. For a similar image of the holding of a fish, a cylinder seal[403] kept formerly in the Seyrig Collection provides the image of a half-naked figure holding a sickle sword in his lowered left hand, a fish on a fishing line in his right, and a fishing net on his shoulder.[404]

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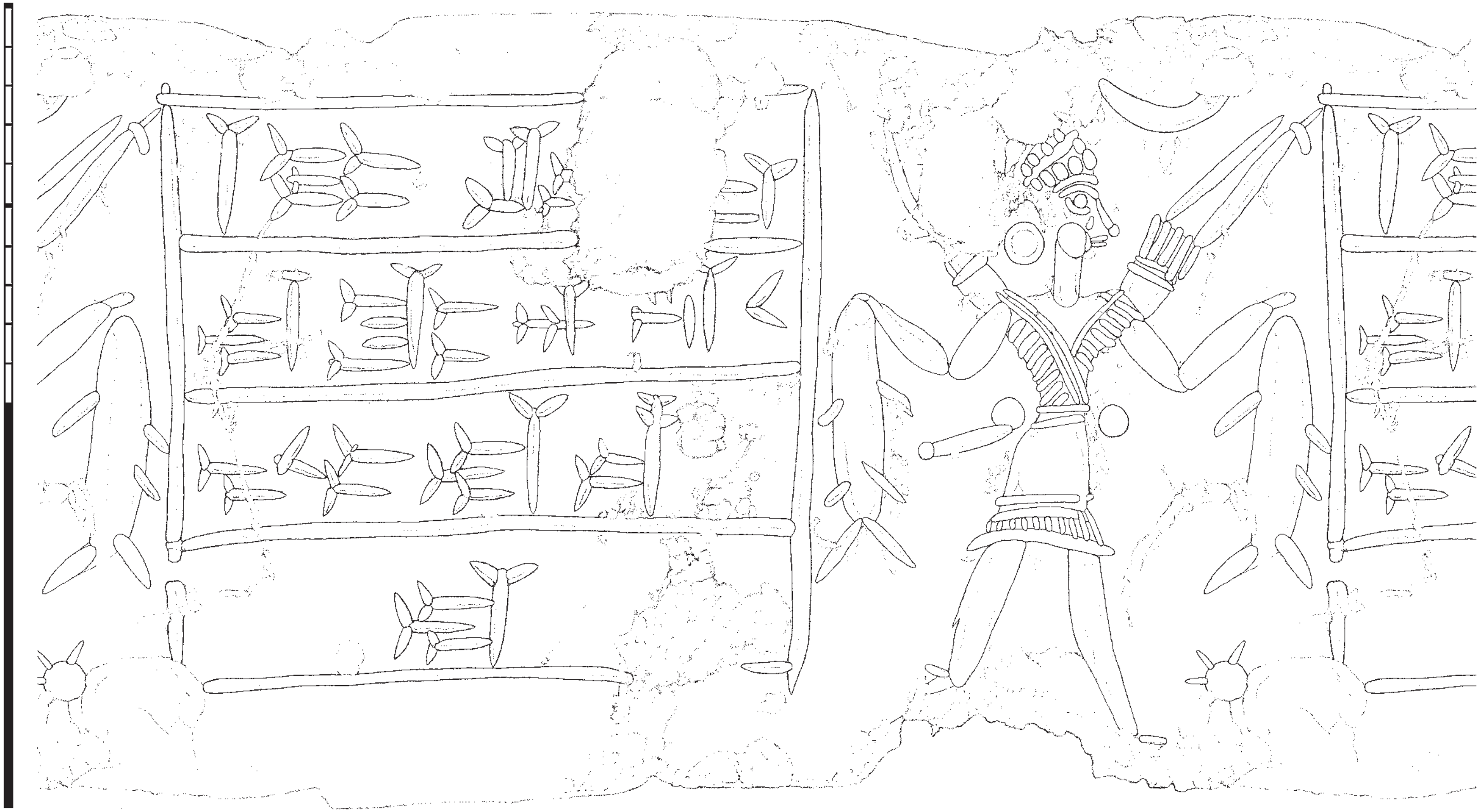
[401] "The x (ending in two horizontals and a vertical) can be a lot. For comparative material, see the personal name Ik-ku-ku/I-ku-ku. In all likelihood, the name is constructed with *ikku* "votive gift" rather than with the lexeme *ikkun* "chapel(?)", as one would need to restore Ik-ku-[i]n-na or Ik-ku-[u]n-na, which are impossible reconstructions, given the visible traces of the cuneiform signs." (note by J. Tavernier).

[402] WAG 42.491 (The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore): Gordon 1939, 27 no. 82 ("banded [smoky, bluish, and neutral] chalcedony) and pl. X (height: 16.7 mm, diameter: 11.1 mm – studied directly in May 2016 by the author).

[403] DMMA 1980.292.83 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France; given by Henry Seyrig, who bought it in Beirut in 1953), "calcédoine blonde", height: 24.4 mm, diameter: 12.5 mm, with slightly convex ends. For further details, see http://sespoa.huma-num.fr/items/show/749#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&xywh=-3099%2C-265%2C9190%2C5282 (accessed 11–10–2018).

[404] For a similar figure fishing from a pond with hook and line and carrying a wicker basket on his back, in a palace relief of Sennacherib (705–681 BC), see Barnett – Bleibtreu – Turner 1998, I. 113–114 no. 490 and II. pl. 383: 490a (s7) and 490b (s7) (BM WA 102072).



VIII.

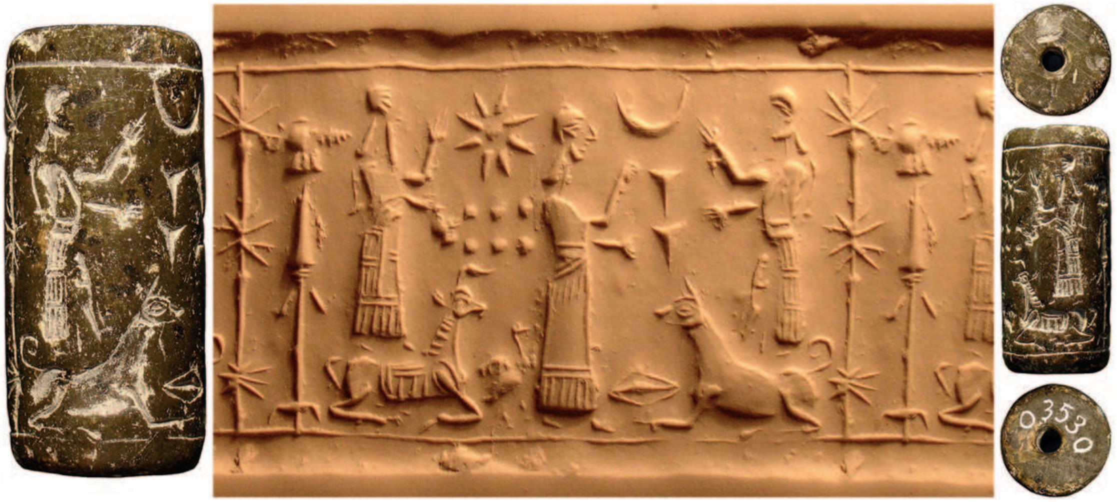
Cultic scenes (64–74)

64

Cultic Scene

Worshipper between Gula and – probably – Adad

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.3530	Plate 19.
REGISTRATION NO.	TR.4419	
MATERIAL	"greenish brown steatite"	
DIMENSIONS	height: 32.8 mm, diameter: 15.1 mm, weight: 12.87 g	
CONDITION	There are small faults along the borderlines, outside the field. A small oblique scratch is on the upper part of the tasselled spade (symbol of Marduk), and another is below the upraised hand of the goddess, while the god's lowered hand and one globe of the Sibitti are obscured by an abrasion.	
PROVENANCE	Tell al-Rimah (Kattara or Karana, Neo-Assyrian Zamaḫe), from the Late Assyrian shrine, Area A. Donated by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq in 1969.[405]	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Parker 1975, 37 no. 52 and pl. XVI.	



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[405] The O.3531 cylindrical bead (height: 30 mm, diameter: 15 mm) originates from the same excavation and has been donated to the present collection.

*This cultic scene, depicted between two borderlines at the top and bottom, represents a worshipper between Gula and probably Adad. The beardless worshipper, facing right and depicted in the so-called devotional pose (*ubāna tarāṣu*), wears a long, belted robe which terminates in a fringed lower edge, and there is a curved fringe below his belt. The goddess in front of him is dressed in a long, belted robe, with a hanging tassel below her shoulder-length hair. She is standing on the back of her crouching dog, and her cultic niche, decorated with three stars arranged equidistant from each other, appears behind her. The god behind the worshipper also wears a hanging tassel and a long robe. He is standing on the back of a reclining bull. Around the figures, the field is filled out by the following symbols and motifs: a crescent moon, a double wedge-shaped motif, and a rhomb are in front of the worshipper, while, behind him, a globe with eight rays appears over the Sibitti, and a bird is the lowermost in this rank. Behind the two divine figures, a winged sun-disc and a tasselled spade (symbol of Marduk) appear.*

This genuine Neo-Assyrian seal depicts a typical cultic theme, whose main participant is the owner of the object, who appears worshipping two divine statues. Since this cylinder seal was discovered in Area A of the Late Assyrian shrine, it was likely offered by the bearer to the divinity, though there is no votive inscription on it which would confirm the act of offering.

The iconography of the seal shows it to belong to the group of high-quality Neo-Assyrian linear-style seals. The contour lines of the figures are indicated with lightly engraved lines, while the surface patterning designates small details on the clothing and the traits of the animals (see the high degree of elaboration of the small bird[406] behind the worshipper). Also, the shaping of the elongated, tasselled spade, fixed in a support, and the small winged sun-disc with flaring tail reflect extensive elaboration. As for the divine figures, the god appears in standing position, while the right leg of the goddess is depicted in protruding position. Contrary to their detailed iconography and different body positions,[407] they are depicted without any attributive objects in their hands, though their animals and the cultic niche of the goddess can reveal their identity.[408] The bull constitutes the only attributive element of the god for us – we can conclude that this animal may be connected with Aššur or more likely Adad.[409] The identification of the goddess is also questionable, since this divine figure does not bear weapons or characteristics of the armed Ištar, nor the scalpel[410] or stylus with cuneiform tablet, attributes of Gula.[411] The row of stars behind the figure can refer to either Ištar or Gula, since they are equally astral goddesses. The dog and the lion, the attributive animals of Gula and Ištar respectively, also attest similar traits.

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[406] For a well-detailed water bird, depicted above a palmette:
– BM WA 129575 – 1945–10–13, 119 (British Museum, formerly kept in the Southesk Collection, acquired in 1903 from J.J. Naaman”): Carnegie 1908, 110 no. Q √38; Collon 2001, 101–102 no. 184 (“serpentinite”, height: 35.5 mm, diameter: 12.5 mm) and pl. XV.

[407] The divine figures are depicted without the tall divine headdress.

[408] For another linear-style seal which depicts the same divine figures, though the goddess is sitting on her throne and they hold beaded rings in their lowered hands:
– VA 2923 (Vorderasiatisches Museum, from art market): Moortgat 1940, 144 no. 656 (“Porphyr”, height: 25 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and pl. 78.

[409] For a similarly arranged seal image:
– Morgan 694 (Morgan Library & Museum): Porada 1948, 85 no. 694 (“pink-and-white chalcedony”, height: 34 mm, diameter: 16 mm) and pl. CIII.

[410] Collon 1994, 43–45; Collon 2001, 122; Böck 2014, 18–22. For bronze medical tools, see Sternitzke 2012.

[411] For a seal image of Gula holding a stylus in her upraised right hand and a cuneiform tablet in her lowered left hand, see for example:
– BM WA 89846 – N 1062 (British Museum; “from Layard’s expedition to Mesopotamia between 1845 and 1851”): Collon 2001, 125 no. 238 (“quartz, sardonyx [probably agate dyed in imitation of sardonyx]”, height: 34 mm, diameter: 16 mm), pls. XIX, XLI and XLIII.

B. Parker identifies the animal here with the lion, and consequently the goddess in her description is Ištar, while she remarks that "The leash by which the goddess holds her mount gives the impression that it has a pointed ear like a dog and this in enhanced by its unusually curly tail." (Parker 1975, 37 no. 52). Based on direct study of the seal, we conclude that there is no leash in the hand of the goddess, but that the shape of the muzzle, the pointed ear, the tail shape, and the slightly elongated limbs nevertheless allow us to identify the dog, the animal of Gula.[412] Besides the animal, in favour of the identification of Gula on the present seal is the cultic niche, whose upper and lower ends terminate at the height of the borderlines, attesting similarities to the niches depicted with Gula on other seal images.[413]

As for the identification of the two female divine figures, a cylinder seal kept in The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts[414] has primary importance, since it depicts them both. On this modelled-style seal, the standing figure of Gula attests the same characteristics as the goddess on the present seal: her standing figure is mounted on the crouching dog, and there is an upright element decorated with a row of four drills, while her raised right hand is in greeting position (she does not hold the scalpel) and her left holds the beaded ring. The other goddess encircled by stars is Ištar.[415]

65

CULTIC SCENE

Bearded and beardless worshippers before Adad and a goddess (Gula or Ištar), respectively

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.1499
MATERIAL	"opale(?)"
DIMENSIONS	height: 34.8 mm, diameter: 16.2 mm, weight: 16.56 g
CONDITION	The upper and lower edges are chipped. Breakage partly obscures the two divine headdresses, part of the goddess's lower body, including her left hand, the head of her dog or lion, and the head and forepart of the bull (Adad's mount).
PROVENANCE	Acquired from the antiquarian I. Élias Géjou in Paris (said to be from "Kish"), 23–04–1936.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Speleers 1936, 126; Speleers 1943, 128–130 no. 1499 (in this publication, the negative made of a modern seal impression was reproduced in reverse); Lipiński 1994, 244–245; Niederreiter – Sass 2018a, 219-226 figs. 1–5 and 7.

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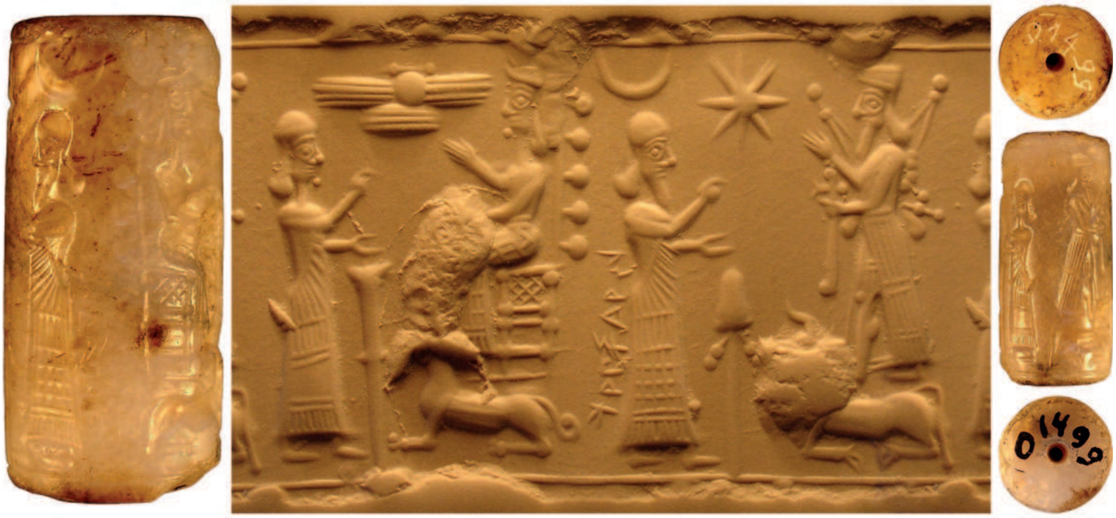
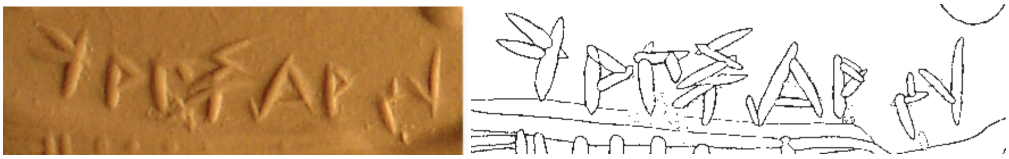
[412] On the seal image (see footnote 409), Gula is sitting on her throne mounted on a dog, and a male god is standing on a bull. On this example, Gula holds a scalpel, while Adad holds an axe in his hand.

[413] D. Collon presents the textual sources on this niche (Collon 1994, 43).

[414] 1.2b 205 (Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, height: 33 mm): Schmidt 1930–33, no. 68. I am grateful to Nastia Tarasova, who sent me the museum number and the height of the cylinder seal.

[415] For other examples which depict Ištar and Gula on seal images together:
– XII,B,11 fragment of potsherd with cylinder seal impression (from Nineveh): Campbell Thompson – Hutchinson 1929, pl. LVII: 340; Reade 2005b, 384 fig. 22.
– ND 1992.180 (from Kalḫu) – IM 127720 (Iraq Museum): Hussein – Abdul-Razaq 1997/98, 174 and fig. 37; Hussein – Altaweel – Gibson 2016, 49, 168 ("agate, orange, white, brown") and pl. 190b;
– IMJ 96.153.57 (The Israel Museum, Jerusalem): Ornan 2004, 13–14 figs. 1a–b and 26 note 2 (height: 28 mm).





Seal legend on the impression (**65**).

INSCRIPTION For the eight-letter Aramaic inscription behind the bearded worshipper, see the discussion by B. Sass below.

*This cultic scene, depicted between two borderlines at top and bottom, represents a bearded worshipper (*ša ziqni*) and a beardless one (*ša rēši*) in front of a god and a goddess respectively. The worshippers, both represented in the so-called devotional pose (*ubāna tarāṣu*), raise their right hands and point forward with their index fingers, while their extended left hands, at waist height, show an upturned open palm. The divine figures, in greeting postures, raise their open right hands, while their left hands are positioned at waist height. Below the god's shoulder-length hair, there is a hanging tassel, a counterweight to his necklace,*[416] *on which the four drill-holes arranged in a row may designate hanging stone objects, such as beads. He wears a tunic below a long, belted robe which consists of two tiers, separated by a double line, and a lower fringe. The tassel hanging down from the long robe is shown alongside the god's right leg. His weapons are an axe held in his left hand, a sheath at his waist, and quivers with bows crossed on his back. The god is standing on a reclining bull whose identity is evident based on the horn, the long tail, and the hoof of the foreleg; the head and forepart are broken away. This mount – the bull – may allow us to identify Adad, though his defining attribute, that is, the lightning fork (or trident), is not depicted with him.*[417] *The goddess wears a horned headdress, its back and top chipped away. She is sitting on her throne, the back of which is decorated with a row of drill-holes similar to the junctions of the lower part of the throne, while there is a rectangular net pattern shaped by inverse oblique engraved lines below the seat. Although most of her long robe is gone, the details that remain allow us to recognise its quadrate or square-patterned decoration. The*

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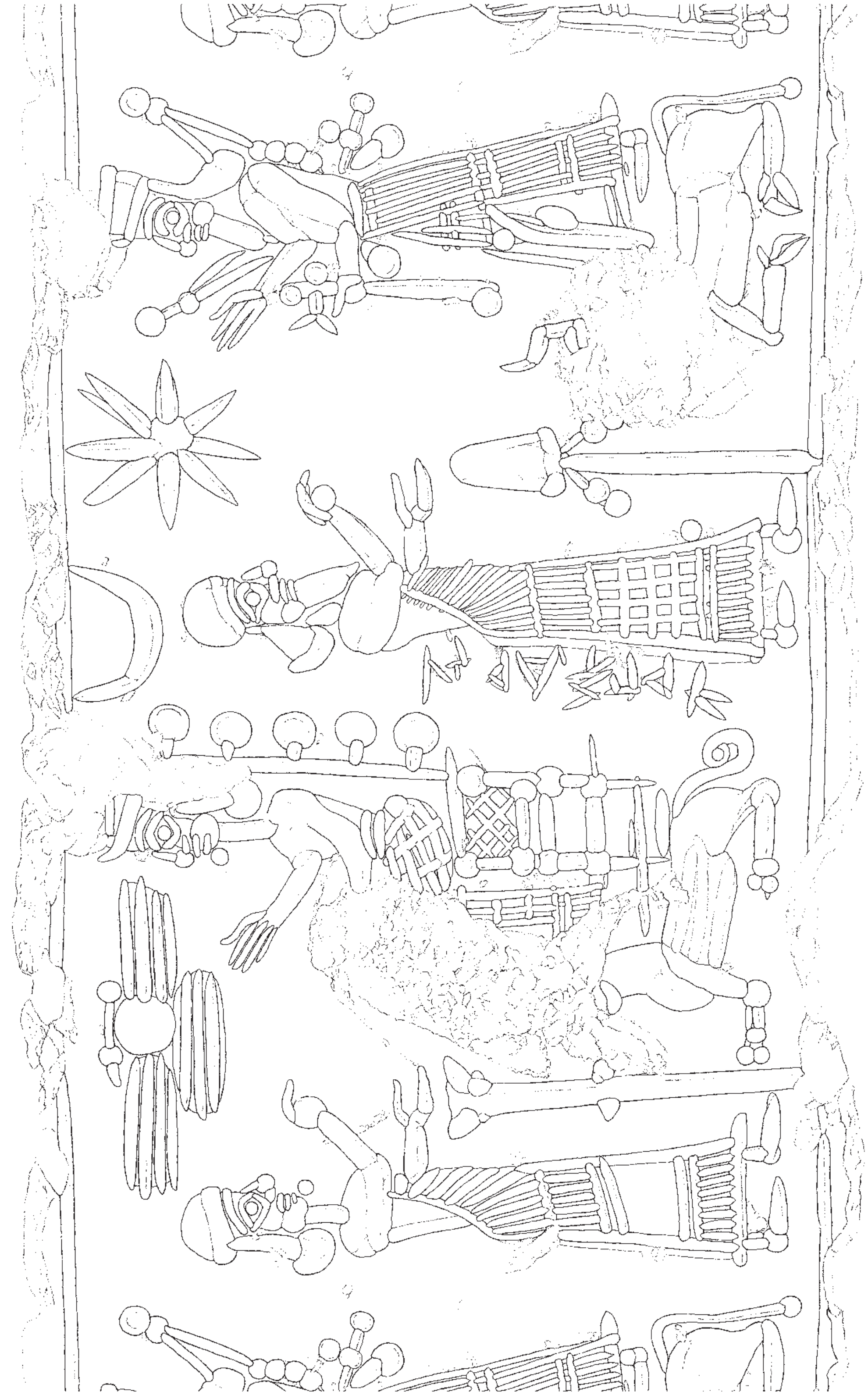
[416] For beaded necklace counterweights worn by divine statues depicted on other seal images, see (*e.g.*) COLLON 2001, 130. For necklaces worn by divine statues mentioned in Neo-Babylonian inventories of jewellery, see JOANNÈS 1992, (esp.) 175–176 (Ebabbar of Sippar); BEAULIEU 1999, (esp.) 148–149 (Eanna of Uruk); NIEDERREITER 2018, 70.

[417] For the identification of "the god on a bull", see COLLON 2001, 141.



exact identification of this goddess is problematic also because the same breakage destroyed her left hand[418] *and the head of her crouching animal. The question thus remains unanswered: does this scene depict Ištar with her lion or Gula with her dog?*[419] *A crescent moon and an eight-pointed star with a globe in the middle of the sky, as well as a tasselled spade (symbol of Marduk) on the ground, appear in the sphere of the bearded worshipper and Adad, while a winged sun-disc in the sky and a stylus (symbol of Nabû) on the ground are depicted alongside the beardless worshipper and the enthroned goddess. Finally, there is an eight-letter Aramaic inscription behind the bearded worshipper.*

The figures and motifs are arranged in two groups, reflecting a well-balanced structure.[420] The details and the surface patterning, such as the divine throne[421] and the decoration on the clothing of the goddess and of the bearded worshipper, show the high quality of the carving. Among the cylinder seals dated to the Neo-Assyrian period, the minute size of the eight letters is also remarkable – the distance between the first and the last ones is circa 13 mm.

As for the two worshippers, the beardless one is depicted in front of the goddess and the bearded one in front of Adad. The bearded worshipper's clothing is decorated with a net pattern, shaped regularly by the combination of horizontal and vertical lines, giving an overall square motif. This may imply his higher status compared to the beardless worshipper, whose robe is left undecorated. The quadrate net-patterned or square-patterned decoration may have been introduced into Neo-Assyrian art in the second quarter of the 8th century B.C., [422] but the lack of dated glyptic sources from this period is conspicuous, while there are examples depicting this patterning of dress from the second half of the 8th century B.C.[423] As for the bearded worshipper, besides the pattern of the clothing, the legend engraved behind him is to be noted. The eight small letters of the inscription are arranged close to his body and follow its outline. The Aramaic legend consists of the initial possessive *lamed*, then his name appears (for the legend see the discussion by B. Sass below), and may also indicate the leading role of the bearded worshipper, that is the seal-bearer, compared to the beardless one.[424] At this point the question arises: what is the role of the beardless worshipper on this scene, and how is he connected to the bearded one? Taking into account the emphasis placed on the role of the latter due to his particular clothing and the legend, we suppose the beardless worshipper has a secondary role, and may have been the subordinate of the seal owner.

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[418] For a cylinder seal showing Gula holding a scalpel in her raised right hand in front of a god similar to the present divine figure:
– Morgan 694 (Morgan Library & Museum): PORADA 1948, 85 no. 694 ("pink-and-white chalcedony", height: 34 mm, diameter: 16 mm) and pl. CIII.

[419] For the identification of the two goddesses, see COLLON 2001, esp. 122; ORNAN 2004, 22–26. However, syncretism between them is also confirmed by the contemporary textual sources. For the question of syncretism of divine figures and for the primary role of Ištar among the goddesses, see ASHER-GREVE – WESTENHOLZ 2013, esp. 101–121; LAMBERT 2003/2004, esp. 27.

[420] A similar arrangement, with a worshipper in front of a god and another in front of a goddess, is known on the following Neo-Assyrian seals (for example):
– WAG 42.668 (The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore) for this unpublished cylinder seal (chalcedony, height: 35.9 mm, diameter: 14.8 mm – studied directly in May 2016 by the author) (the seal depicts a beardless and a bearded worshipper) and https://art.thewalters.org/detail/7823/cylinder-seal-with-worshipers-before-deities-/ (accessed 20–09–2018);
– Ash. 1913.144 (Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology; acquired in Beirut by T.E. Lawrence): BUCHANAN 1966, 110 no. 603 ("mauve serpentine", height: 35 mm, diameter: 16 mm) and pl. 40.

[421] For similar divine thrones, see for example:
– Ass 2307 (Assur) – VA 4220 (Vorderasiatisches Museum): MOORTGAT 1940, 140 no. 605 ("Chalcedon", height: 29 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and pl. 72.

[422] D. Collon mentions that "the square patterning which became popular during the first half of the eighth century" (COLLON 2001, 115 no. 215) and "The type of square-patterned dress worn by the worshipper was introduced in the earlier part of the eighth century and is found extensively on reliefs of the time of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon." (COLLON 2001, 125 no. 238). A group of cylinder seals dated to the reigns of Adad-nērārī III (810–783 B.C.) and his successor Shalmaneser IV (782–773 B.C.), depicts their eunuch owners, but none of them presents the quadrate, net-patterned or square-patterned decoration on their garments (NIEDERREITER 2015, esp. 131 fig. 3). For the square-patterned dress, see NIEDERREITER 2018, 76–78.

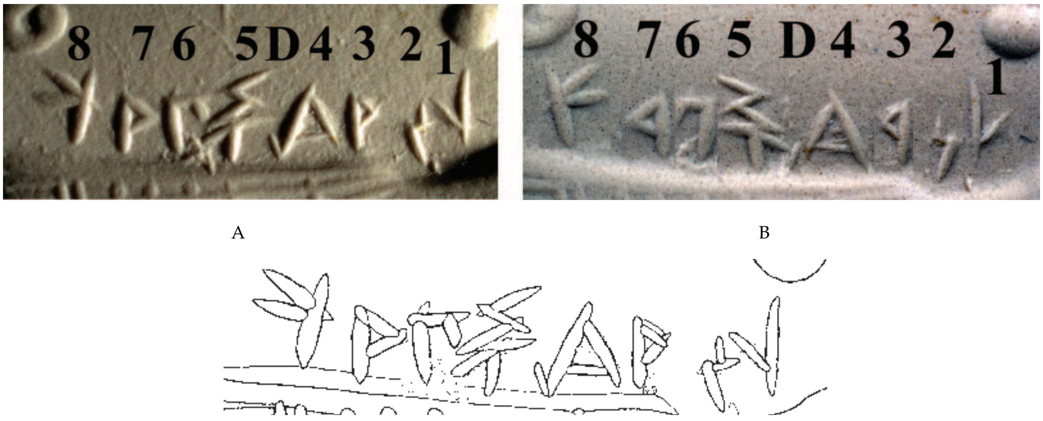
[423] Square patterning on worshippers' clothing is attested on the following inscribed cylinder seals, dated to the reign of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.):
– Japanese private collection: WATANABE 1992, 357–358 (height: 48.3 mm, diameter: 23.2 mm) and pl. 70: a; WATANABE 1993, 113–114 no. 5.5 ("Achat") and pl. 3: 5.5; according to its inscription: "Cylinder seal of Nabû-uṣalla, governor of the city Tamnuna, the eunuch of Sargon (II), king of Assyria.";
– ND 5486 (Kalḫu) – MMA 57.27.22 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art): PARKER 1962, 31: ND. 5486 and pl. XII: 4; NIEDERREITER 2008, 67–68 fig. 13. Seal impressions on the clay sealing are made with a stamp-cylinder bearing the inscription "Cylinder seal of Aššur-bāni, governor of Kalḫu." Height: 41.3 mm with the upper and lower caps, 26.2 mm for the preserved seal image only, measured from the ancient seal impression (studied in May 2016 by the author).

As for the date of the present cylinder seal, the second half of the 8th century B.C. can be confirmed by its style and decorative elements (see notes 422–423). The inscription (see below) has a wider potential time-range.

Notes on the Aramaic inscription of **65**

Benjamin Sass

inscription	*lnbd sprʾ* – "Belonging to Nabudu(?) the scribe." – Aramaic (figs. 12.a–c and 13)
bibliography	Speleers 1943, 129 no. 1499 and 187; Vattioni 1971, 62 no. 132; not in Herr 1978; Bordreuil 1992, 135; Lipiński 1994, 244–245; Schwiderski 2004, 402; Schwiderski 2008, 557.



A

B

C

Figs. 12 (a–c): Modern impression: legend of **65** (Hendrik Hameeuw) (a) and same, but each letter, and the word-divider, flipped horizontally individually with Photoshop (B. Sass), so as to give an approximation of what the legend would have looked like in the impression, had the lapidary done his work as he should have (b); close-up of legend (Z. Niederreiter) (c).

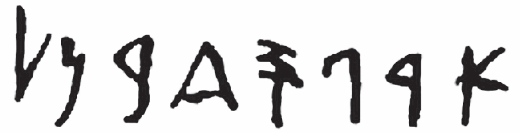


Fig. 13: Legend drawn either from the seal or from a mirror-image photograph of an impression (based on Speleers 1943, 187).

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[424] Regarding the connection between the two worshippers depicted on Neo-Assyrian cultic scenes, we can mention two related examples known thanks to ancient impressions:

I *Prior understanding of the legend.*[425] Speleers (1943, 129) observed that the writing was Aramaic of the 8th century B.C. He drew all eight letters quite accurately (fig. 13) but his transliteration, *ʾrpqdbn*, is correct for only six of them. Letter 5, which he read *qop*, is a *samek*, and he has ignored Letter 1, a *lamed*. Vattioni (1971, 62 no. 132) copied Speleers' transliteration except Letter 5: *ʾrpdbn*, and he too identified the writing as Aramaic. Herr (1978) did not list this legend. Fitzmyer – Kaufman (1992, 172–173 no. 26) repeated Speleers' letter sequence and dating. Bordreuil (1992, col. 135) only noted "a Semitic inscription".

II *Lipiński's reading*. No one of the above authors proposed a meaningful reading. This was eventually done by Lipiński (1994, 244–245), and his reading is adopted herein.[426] Lipiński transliterated the eight letters *ʾrpsdbnl* and, reading backwards, came up with *lnbd sprʾ*, "Belonging to Nabû-ūda (Akkadian: Nabû knows), the scribe." Indeed *ʾrpsdbnl* yields no intelligible meaning, whereas Lipiński's solution is borne out by its initial possessive *lamed* and even more so by Aramaic *sprʾ*, both unambiguously legible once read the other way round (fig. 12). It is also clear that the remaining three letters (Letters 2-4), convey the seal-owner's name, which begins with a *nun*. In the following I comment further on the engraving of the legend, palaeography and dating, and on the seal-owner's name.

III *Position and orientation of the legend*. The legend has been added vertically to the finished seal behind the bearded worshipper. On the seal all the letters are oriented right to left but the reading begins on the left, a fact not mentioned in the previous works. It follows that the legend is nowhere obviously legible, neither on the seal nor in an impression. Evidently the lapidary misunderstood his instructions. Indeed fifty years have gone by before Lipiński was able to figure this out. Such nonconformity is infrequent in the West Semitic alphabet; if at all, it occurs on seals, where the requirement to carve the legends in reverse has led to the occasional confusion.

I have called attention to a similar phenomenon in the stamp impressions on bricks from 6th century B.C. Babylon.[427] In them, alongside normative ones, mirror-image legends are present, as well as several where all letters run right to left but the reading begins at left. And in one brick-impression (fig. 15.a) the orientation is precisely as in the modern impression of our seal (figure 12.a): the letters are mirror image, but the reading begins at what looks like the end–at right.[428]

IV *Additional comments on the engraving of the legend.* On 29 January 2018 we examined the seal in the Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels, and had close-up images taken of the legend by museum photographers Hendrik Hameeuw and Raoul Pessemier (fig. 14.a–b). I have specific comments to Letters 3 and 4 only.

– ND 231 – IM 56822 (Iraq Museum) cuneiform tablet, excavated at Kalḫu (Room K of the Governor's Palace), provides an inscribed impression of the cylinder seal of the brother of Bēl-tarṣi-ilumma, governor of Kalḫu: "[Property of Sīn]-ēṭir, the brother of [Bēl-tarṣi-ilumm]a, governor of Kalḫu." (Parker 1955, 110: ND 231 and pl. XX: 2; Niederreiter 2015, esp. 130–131 fig. 3: 11.1–2 and 145 no. 11 with further bibliography). The seal depicts two eunuchs (the governor and his brother, that is, the seal owner), who frame two divine statues facing rightward towards one of them.

– SH 03/5953/0208 (Deir ez-Zōr Museum): the sealed fragments of a vessel lid, discovered in Dūr-Katlimmu (Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad): Neuassyrische Residenz in Mittlere Unterstadt II, provide another sealing, made with the cylinder seal of the eunuch of Nergal-ēreš: "Cylinder seal of Išme-ilu, the eunuch of Nergal-ēreš." (Kühne – Radner 2008, 26–44 fig. 1–7; Niederreiter 2015, esp. 130–131 fig. 3: 9.1–2 and 143 no. 9). The seal depicts a divine statue between two eunuchs.

I suppose that the governors are depicted in front of the divine figure(s) on these seal images while the seal owners appear behind them.

[425] The legend's letters from *lamed* to *alep* are numbered for clarity, and the word divider is marked "D" (figs. 12.a–c, 14.a–b).

[426] The first to follow Lipiński's reading was probably Schwiderski 2004, 402; 2008, 557.

[427] Sass – Marzahn 2010, 159–160.

[428] Looking at the mirror-image letters on the impression or the positive letters on the seal, one assumes mistakenly that the entire legend is reversed. Indeed this is why all the authors before Lipiński proposed to read *ʾrpsdbnl* or variants thereof.

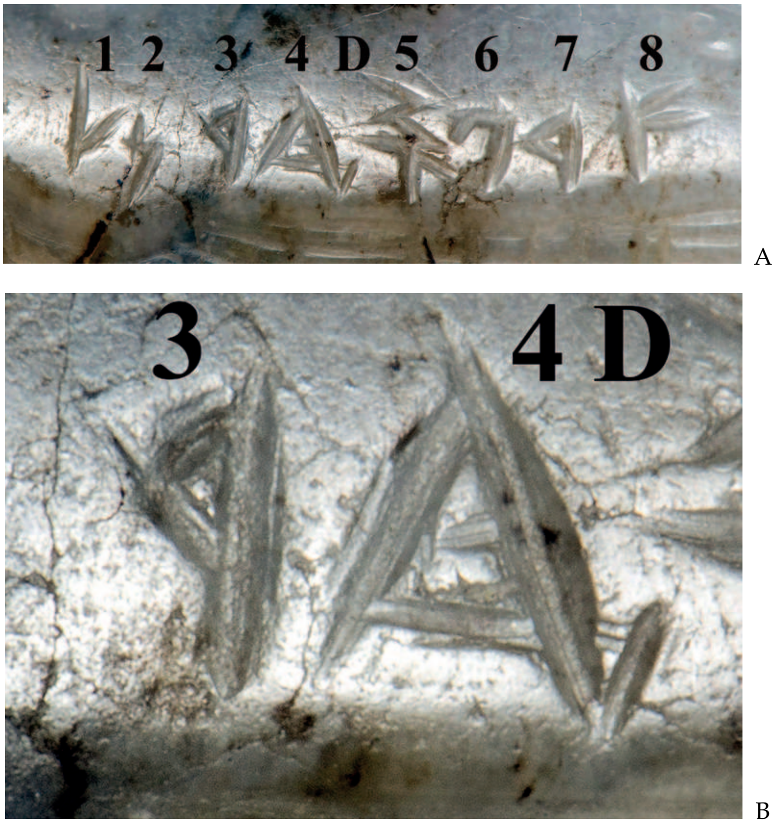

Fig. 14 (a–b): Cylinder seal (**65**): close-up of seal legend (a) and close-up of Letters 3 and 4 and the word divider (b).

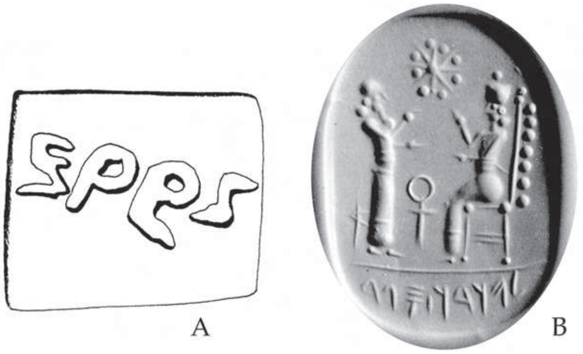

Fig. 15 (a–b): Babylon brick impression inscribed *zbdy* in Aramaic, 6th century B.C. VA Bab. 4563 (Vorderasiatisches Museum) (based on Sass – Marzahn 2010, 66) (a) and modern impression of an unprovenanced seal inscribed in Aramaic *lhwdw* spr', "Belonging to *hwdw* the scribe." (based on Avigad – Sass 1997, no. 754) (b).

– *Letter 3*. The bottom horizontal of the *bet*, shorter and shallower than usual, is not cut like the rest of the legend; it constitutes of three tiny joined pits (fig. 14.b), seemingly deliberate, perhaps done by (micro?) flaking.[429] I guess it was necessity that led the lapidary to resort to such a technique, exceptional in the first millennium B.C. The location was too close to the already engraved scene, and the seal-cutter presumably feared that applying the cutting tool parallel to the bearded worshipper would damage the latter's body and close-fitting garment.[430] In the less likely case that these three pits are accidental, the name would read *nrd*, for which I have no etymology.

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[429] For which see Sax – Meeks – Collon 2000a; Sax – Meeks – Collon 2000b. This stroke is not visible equally well in the various photographs, best in fig. 14.b.

[430] This is the only horizontal stroke at the bottom of the legend; all the other letters have vertical strokes here, perpendicular to the figure, strokes whose bottom ends only just touch the garment.

– *Letter 4*. While the lapidary was working on this letter, the cutting tool slipped several times, or else the seal-cutter may have begun another letter by mistake before abandoning it and engraving the *dalet* over it. His wish to conceal that false start may account for the *dalet*'s clumsy look and too large size.

– *A word-divider*. Not mentioned by earlier commentators the tiny stroke between Letters 4 and 5 ("D" in figs. 12 and 14), almost touching the former letter, may be a divider between the seal-owner's name and *sprʾ*. Compare the unprovenanced stamp seal inscribed in Aramaic *lhwdw sprʾ*, "Belonging to *hwdw*, the scribe," with a word-divider, BM WA 48508 (British Museum) (fig. 15.b).[431]

V *Alternative understandings of* nbd.[432] While following Lipiński on the reading *nbd*, the three constituent letters of the seal owner's name, I believe that his proposal to understand the name as Akkadian Nabû-ūda is not the only conceivable one. On the one hand longer names such as Nabû-kala-ūda ("Nabû knows everything") and Šamaš/Šarru-gabbu-ūda ("Šamaš/the king knows all"),[433] make hitherto unattested Nabû-ūda possible. On the other, alternatives may exist, such as Nabūtu, considered a Nabû-hypocoristic,[434] presumably written *nbd* here due to the adjacent vowel, or Nabû-idī, "Nabû is (my) strength,"[435] both Akkadian, or else, I would suggest, an abbreviated Aramaic Nabû-Dalā, "Nabû has delivered," comparable to unabbreviated, *plene nbwdlh*.[436] As an alphabet-scribe,[437] *nbd*, whatever the origin of his name, will have been an Aramaean.

VI *Palaeography and dating*. Most of the eight letters have long-lived forms that begin in the 9th century B.C. and continue into the 8th B.C. (the dating of the imagery [Z. Niederreiter] is more precise – the second half of the 8th century B.C.). Remarks on four letters follow.

– Letters 3, 4 and 7 have closed heads of the kind that, in the course of the 8th century B.C, tend to open at the top in fast Aramaic writing in ink. But in letters engraved more slowly on stone and metal, the archaising use of the forms with closed heads remains common throughout most of the century, and beyond.

– The *samek* is more developed: by the addition of two oblique strokes, the erstwhile three horizontals (fig. 15.b) have evolved into a zigzag. The vertical was eliminated here, remaining only below the head of the letter. This cursive Aramaic trait, too, emerged in documents written in ink,[438] so that the scribes would lift the pen from the papyrus as little as possible, speeding up the writing and, like numerous other cursive features, it was picked up soon in texts engraved on hard surfaces.[439]

Returning finally to the legend as a whole, by messing it up the lapidary may have rendered the seal unusable.

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[431] More stamp and cylinder seals are known, all of them unprovenanced, bearing the designation in either Aramaic, *sprʾ*, or Hebrew, Phoenician, Ammonite or Moabite, (*h*)*spr* (some listed in Avigad – Sass 1997, 467). Regarding those among the seals that were marketed since the late 1960s or early 1970s it is hard to know whether they are genuine or forged (Avigad – Sass 1997, 12). Others became known before, among them Avigad – Sass 1997, nos. 754 and 1007 since the 19th century or earlier, and are thus likely to be genuine.

[432] More often than not, alphabetic transliterations of the DN Nabû are spelled with a *mater lectionis waw* for the û, but the defective writing *nb* is occasionally attested in personal names (Sass – Marzahn 2010, 173).

[433] Ambos – Gesche – Parpola 2001 = PNA 2, II, 838: Nabû-kala-ūda?; Gentili 2011 = PNA 3, II, 1198: Šamaš-gabbu-ūda; Baker 2011 = PNA 3, II, 1237: Šarru-gabbu-ūda, respectively.

[434] Radner 2001 = PNA 2, II, 897: Nabūtu.

[435] Pearce – Wunsch 2014, 69.

[436] Maraqten 1988, 184.

[437] See for instance Gzella 2015, 127.

[438] The zigzag *samek* is attested since circa 800 B.C. at the latest, in the Tell Deir ʿAlla plaster texts (Kooij 1987, 108).

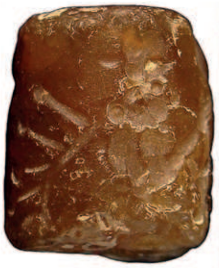
[439] Naveh 1982, 7.

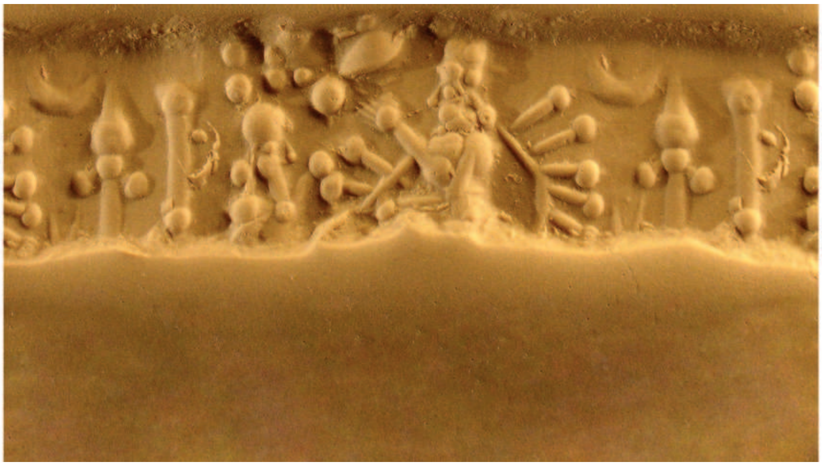
66

Cultic Scene

Worshipper in front of Ištar encircled by stars

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.1637
MATERIAL	"agate brune"
DIMENSIONS	height: 12.4 mm, diameter: 10.6 mm (lower half of the cylinder seal has been broken off), weight: 2.32 g
CONDITION	The lower half of the cylinder seal is completely broken off, while the upper edge is slightly chipped and two holes belonging to the Sibitti have disappeared due to an abrasion. There is a fault in the stone above Ištar's raised right hand, and an abrasion is situated beside a stylus (symbol of Nabû).
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Cugnin Collection, 15–05–1939.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	LEGRAIN 1911, 43 no. 67 and pl. VI; SPELEERS 1939, 108 fig. 67; SPELEERS 1943, 114 no. 1637 (in this publication, the negative made of a modern seal impression was reproduced in reverse).





*This seal depicts a worshipper, represented in a devotional pose (*ubāna tarāṣu*), in front of Ištar facing left. The bearded worshipper's right index finger, marked by a stroke, points forward and touches one of the globes constituting Ištar's halo; she is depicted with a headdress, and a drill-hole marks the hair under it. She raises her right hand, whose extended fingers are shaped with narrow strokes, while her left arm is bent at the elbow. Her body is encircled by a halo of stars, as noted above. Behind the goddess, a tasselled spade (symbol of Marduk) and a stylus (symbol of Nabû) are depicted. In the sky above the worshipper are the Sibitti, only five and a half drill-holes of which are visible because of the damage, while a larger drill-hole denotes the globe of a star with only one ray visible, below it. A crescent moon appears behind the goddess.*

Although the lower half of the depicted scene is completely missing because of breakage of the cylinder seal, the missing part is identifiable. Between the rear part of Ištar's halo and the tasselled spade there are two upwardly diverging oblique lines above the broken edge; these narrow lines are undoubtedly the horns of a mušḫuššu-dragon, which would then have been depicted on the lower, broken half of the scene. The tasselled spade (symbol of Marduk) and the stylus (symbol of Nabû) are placed on the back of the crouching mušḫuššu-dragon, facing left. This crouching mythical creature with the two divine emblems is known from several seal images.[440] The collected seal images also depict Ištar encircled by globes in front of a worshipper. Despite these similarities, there is no reason to suppose that the seals originate from the same workshop; their similar features can be explained by a wider preference for the chosen figures and theme. As for the disposition of the figures on the present seal, it is interesting to note that, contrary to the collected examples, the head of the worshipper is situated lower than Ištar's head, which makes it evident that the goddess is standing on her cult dais (*parakku*) (and/or the worshipper is perhaps depicted in kneeling position). The present drilled-style seal is dated to the 8th or 7th century B.C. For the main iconographic characteristics and style of this seal image, see **70**.

67

Cultic scene

Worshipper with his consort in front of a god

museum number	O.562
material	"pierre brûnetre opaque"
dimensions	height: 25.8 mm, diameter: 11.5 mm (slightly barrel-shaped), weight: 5.87 g
condition	The upper and lower edges are slightly chipped. There is a fault in the stone between the worshippers at thigh height, and an abrasion partly covers the second worshipper's belt.
provenance	According to L. Speleers's descriptions (Speleers 1920, 14; Speleers 1923a, 20), l'abbé de Genouillac acquired several cylinder seals (O.469–593) in Syria during his travels of 1911–12. The museum bought this lot in Paris (1913).
bibliography	Speleers 1917, 189 no. 562.

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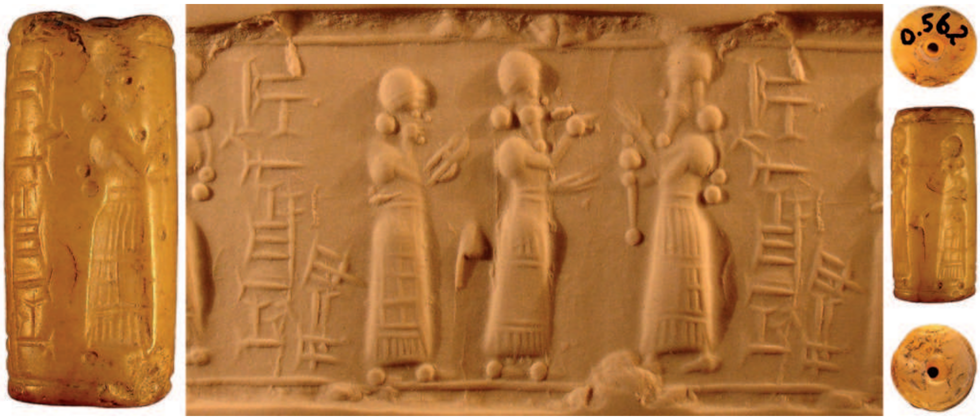
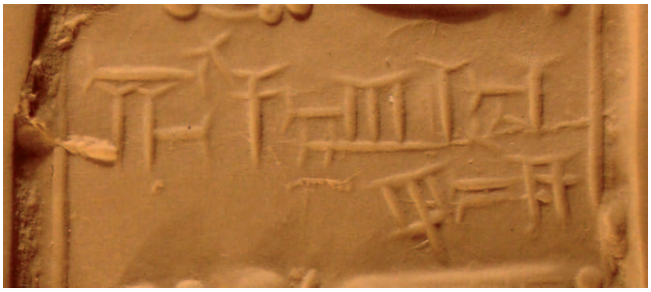
[440] On the examples collected below, except in the first three objects, the cultic scene is depicted without borderlines, similarly to the present seal:
- MMA 1999.325.83 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art; gift of Nanette B. Kelekian, in memory of Charles Dikran and Beatrice Kelekian): "chalcedony with red areas", height: 19 mm, diameter: 10 mm; http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/327679 (accessed 11-09-2018);
- 53 ("aus einer hessischen Privatsammlung"): Rehm 2003, 558 no. 53 ("milchig weiβer Chalzedon", height: 31 mm, diameter: 15 mm);
- 1694 (Thorvaldsen Collection): Fossing 1929, 29 no. 1 and pl. I: 1; Di Paolo 2012, 29–30 ("calcedonio bruno") fig. 7;
- private collection: Wagner – Boardman 2003, 126 no. 911 ("rock crystal", height: 17 mm, diameter: 9 mm) and pl. 132;
- formerly kept in the Marcopoli Collection: Teissier 1984, 172–173 no. 237 ("carnelian", height: 19 mm, diameter: 11 mm); Christie's (New York) 14–06–1993, 189 no. 268 above;
- 3653 (Archäologischen Museum der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster, formerly kept in the Tono Eitel Collection): Neumann 2016, 105 no. 111 ("Beiger Calcit", height 27 mm, diameter: 12 mm, weight: 6.43 g) and 210;
- unknown museum number (Musée du Louvre): Menant 1886, II., 260 and pl. VII: 5; Milani 1909, 327 fig. 24; Jeremias 1913, 275 fig. 175.

Furthermore, on the following depiction, known from seal impressions, the spade and stylus are on the back of the mušḫuššu-dragon:
- fragments of clay sealings (Deir ez-Zor Museum, from Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad): Fügert 2015, 19–20 no. 16 (height: 24 mm).





Inverted image made of the seal legend on the impression (**67**).

INSCRIPTION NA$_4$.KIŠIB ^{m}BA-/*ša*$_2$-*ia* *kunuk Iqīšaya* Cylinder seal of Iqīšaya.

BIBLIOGRAPHY The seal legend is not mentioned by Speleers in his catalogue dealing with the seal inscriptions (Speleers 1917, 83–87).

This cultic scene, depicted between two borderlines at the top and bottom, represents two worshippers in front of a bearded god, who has a brimmed, rounded headdress on which a horizontal line designates the horn. Below his hair there is a hanging tassel, a counterweight to his necklace, whose curved shape follows the contour of his back and terminates in two drill-holes.[441] *His long, belted robe consists of a striped upper row and a lower row that is only half striped, above the fringed edge.*[442] *The god raises his open right hand, on which the fingers are delineated, and holds a mace in his left hand, positioned at waist height. The first, bearded worshipper is depicted in a devotional pose, the so-called* ubāna tarāṣu. *He is dressed in a rounded headdress and a long, belted robe with a fringe at his waist and a fringed lower edge. The second figure appears to be a female worshipper and raises both hands, with her open right palm turned upwards. She has a headdress shaped similarly to that of the first worshipper, and wears a long, belted robe which terminates in a fringed edge, the upper part of which is marked regularly with vertical and horizontal lines which constitute the quadrate net pattern.*

A cuneiform inscription designates the owner of the cylinder seal. The inscription was engraved in positive on the seal and therefore comes out reversed in impressions. The two last signs of the name are

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[441] For beaded necklace counterweights worn by divine statues, see footnote 416.

[442] For similar patterning of the god's long robe:
– BM WA 89319 – 1856–5–2, 23 (British Museum, acquired by J.K. Lynch): Collon 2001, 131–132 no. 247 ("chalcedony: streaked, pink and colourless, almost transparent", height: 35 mm [47.5 mm with pin], diameter: 16 mm) and pl. XX.

arranged on a second line in such a manner that they cover the second part of the field behind the female worshipper (and more than the first half is left empty).[443]

One of the particularities of this drilled-style cultic scene is the absence of filling motifs. As for the use of tools, the dominance of different-sized drill-holes and the sharp, short engraved lines are notable. Given the posture of the divine figure and the position of the first worshipper, the seal appears to depict a genuine Assyrian cultic scene. Among similar themes, there are a few Assyrian seals which present the male worshipper with a female one (presumably his consort).[444] A cylinder seal kept in The Metropolitan Museum of Art[445] reveals similarities with the present seal, though the New York seal reflects a lower quality of elaboration. Besides this, it is interesting to note that this latter specimen depicts astral symbols (the six-pointed star, winged sun-disc, and crescent moon), while a rhomb appears on its lower field. The cylinder seal kept in the Walters Art Museum[446] shows higher quality than the present seal; however, the elaboration of the figures' anatomical traits (see the face or the hands) attests very similar use of tools.

Based on the patterning of the female worshipper's clothes and the inscribed name of the owner, we date the present seal to the second half of the 8th or the 7th century B.C.[447] On the seal legend, it is notable that the last sign *ia* reflects a simplified form attested in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian cursive texts.

68

CULTIC SCENE

Worshipper in front of the armed Ištar

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.1473
MATERIAL	"roche opaque"
DIMENSIONS	height: 31.1 mm, diameter: 15.4 mm (both edges are rounded at a height of circa 3 mm), weight: 13.41 g
CONDITION	The rounded upper and lower edges are etched and slightly chipped. We may assume that the cylinder seal has been reshaped, resulting in the rounded shape of the upper and lower edges and the omission of the lower borderline.
PROVENANCE	Acquired from the antiquarian I. Élias Géjou in Paris (said to be from "Warka"), 23–04–1936.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	SPELEERS 1943, 113 no. 1473 (in this publication, a negative made of a modern seal impression was reproduced in reverse).

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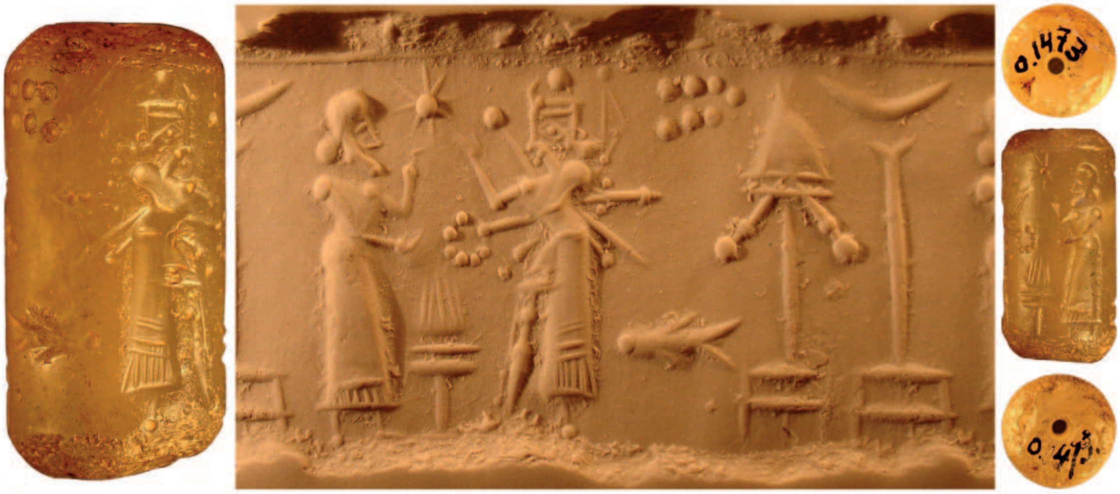
[443] For similarly disposed seal legends and similarly shaped cuneiform signs:
– VA 508 (Vorderasiatisches Museum, from art market): MOORTGAT 1940, 140 no. 598 ("Chalzedon", height: 37 mm, diameter: 17 mm) and pl. 71;
– Ash. 1892.1419 (Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology; Chester bequest): BUCHANAN 1966, 114 no. 632 ("milky hornstone", height: 34 mm, diameter: 16 mm), 229 and pl. 41.

[444] For a similar depiction of a male and a female worshipper:
– WAG 42.153 (The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore): Gordon 1939, 32 no. 110 ("scaraboid of incrusted chalcedony") and pl. XIII.

[445] MMA 1999.325.82 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art; gift of Nanette B. Kelekian): "carnelian", height: 20 mm, diameter: 9 mm; http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/327678 (accessed 16–09–2018) (a modern seal impression of this cylinder seal was studied directly by the author in May 2016).

[446] WAG 42.435 (The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore): GORDON 1939, 26–27 no. 80 ("rose quartz") and pl. X (height: 28.9 mm, diameter: 14.5 mm – studied directly in May 2016 by the author).

[447] For the date of the female figure's textile patterning, see footnote 422.



*This cultic scene depicts a worshipper in front of Ištar. The upper borderline is partly visible; however, there is no trace of the lower one. The bearded worshipper is represented in the so-called devotional pose (*ubāna tarāṣu*), raising his left hand and pointing forwards with his index finger, while his extended right hand, at the height of his waist, is depicted with an upturned open palm. He is dressed in a long robe with a fringed lower edge. Ištar, depicted in greeting position, raises her open right hand, while her left hand, positioned at the height of her waist, holds the beaded ring. Between the two figures, in the sky, there is an eight-pointed star with a globe in the middle, while on the ground below stands an incense burner (whose holder is marked by two parallel horizontal engraved lines and the stand by a vertical one, while the burning incense is represented by five upwardly narrowing vertical strokes arranged in a row). Behind Ištar, the Sibitti are depicted above a fish facing left on the lower field and there is a crescent moon above a stylus (symbol of Nabû), next to a tasselled spade (symbol of Marduk).*

The armed Ištar is depicted in the traditional greeting position, with the beaded ring in her left hand, quivers with bows above her shoulders, and sword at her waist, but their disposition and detailing reflects an image which is not familiar from similar Ištar depictions.[448] Regarding the armament, the orientation of the bow in the quiver is wrong, while the sword at her waist is positioned too high (and there is an oblique straight line, below it, on the appropriate level and appropriately oriented). The long robe has a fringed lower edge and a hanging tassel depicted alongside her right leg, protruding from the tunic; however, a squat shape and angular forms characterise her body. This appearance is emphasised by the broadened silhouette of the body, large engraved lines, and excessive application of different-sized drill-holes. Furthermore, she is depicted with a short angular headdress on which a curved stroke marks the horn beside the drill-hole designating the star on the top. Her face is characterised by a large, exaggerated outlined eye with a small drill-hole in it, and the nose and mouth are marked with similar-sized drill-holes.

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[448] See for example **71**.

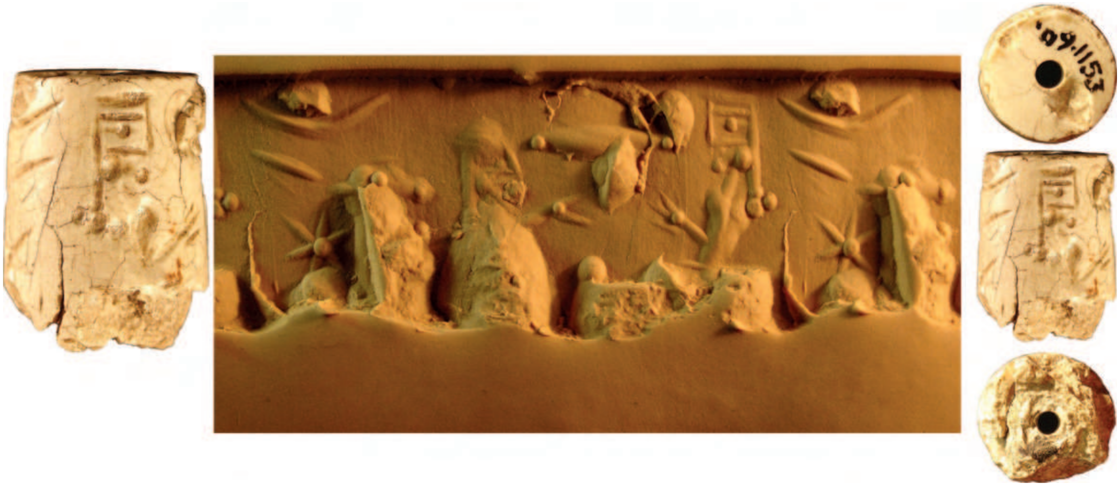

Fig. 16: Ash. 1909.1153 cylinder seal ("shell", height: 19.6+ mm, diameter: 14.3 mm) and its modern impression. © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford (photographs taken by the author) (see footnote 449).

In the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, there is a "shell" cylinder seal (fig. 16),[449] bought by Gertrude Bell in Tell Ahmar, which attests similar characteristics as the present seal. Although the lower half of that cylinder seal has been broken off and the field is damaged, what remains of the image allows us to compare it with the present seal. We can appreciate on both drilled-style seals that the head, including the headdress is not a silhouetted-shaped; its contour lines are instead outlined by straight engravings with small drill-holes, giving it a distinctive angular effect. Besides these particular features, the worshippers' hands are similarly shaped, with the combination of a central drill-hole and narrow strokes designating the fingers. Among the astral symbols, the oversized crescent moons and similarly shaped stars appear similarly on both these seals.

69

CULTIC SCENE

Worshipper in front of a goddess sitting on her throne

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2755
MATERIAL	"pierre rose"
DIMENSIONS	height 15.8 mm, diameter: 7.6 mm (slightly barrel-shaped), weight: 1.60 g
CONDITION	There is a small abrasion between the legs of the throne.
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection, 11–10–1958.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.

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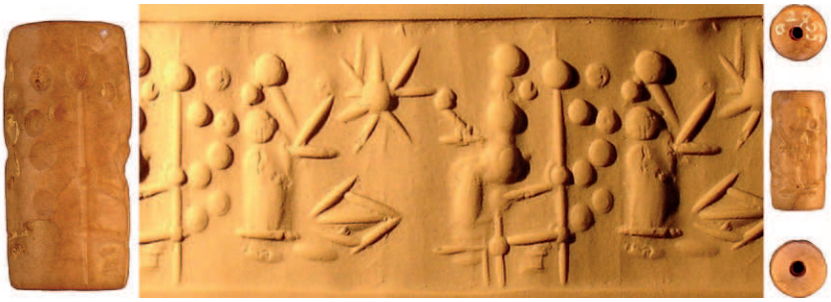
[449] Ash. 1909.1153 (Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, "bought in Tell Ahmar, south of Carchemish across Euphrates by Gertrude Bell"): BUCHANAN 1966, 117 no. 650 ("shell") and pl. 42 (height: 19.6+ mm, diameter: 14.3 [13.2] mm [barrel-shaped] – studied directly in May 2014 by the author). I am very grateful to Paul Collins, who allowed me to study the cylinder seal and publish the present photographs.



*This cultic scene represents a bearded worshipper, depicted in devotional pose (*ubāna tarāṣu*), in front of a sitting female figure. Although this figure does not bear any divine attributes, her treatment allows us to identify her as a goddess. Her high-backed throne consists of a combination of engraved lines and drill-holes, the latter designating the throne's junctions. Between the two figures there is an eight-pointed star with a globe in the middle, above a rhomb depicted close to the worshipper. Behind the two figures the Sibitti, set vertically in two rows, completely fill the available space.*

On this drilled-style image, characterised by limited technology and low quality, the figures are represented by deep, hollow silhouettes with large drill-holes. It is worth mentioning the unusual position and execution of the sitting figure's upraised hand, since it terminates in a globe shaped by a drill-hole, which seems to be an unusual object.[450] The obliquely positioned seat of the throne reveals also the competence of the seal-cutter(s), while the line of the back and the legs of the throne overcut the field. Furthermore, the omission of the front leg of the footstool is notable. The worshipper is peculiarly awkward in terms of the rendering of his exaggerated, badly arranged feet, below the exaggerated edge of his long robe. Besides the asymmetrical appearance of the star due to the disposition of the different-sized rays, the extra upright line, that is, the "ninth" ray, is also unusual.

The cylinder seal BM WA 89597[451] from A.H. Layard's excavation attests similarities to the present seal, though it depicts the worshipper in striding position and there are small engraved lines and drill-holes on the seal image. Nevertheless, the preference for the combination of large drill-holes with broad engraved lines and the large filling motifs reflect similar iconography.[452]

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[450] For a similar globe in the hand of a goddess:
– BM WA 89409 – 1846–5–23, 341 (British Museum, formerly kept in the collection of Claude Scott-Stewart): Collon 2001, 73 no. 136 ("chalcedony: mottled, greys, barely translucent", height: 38 mm, diameter: 18.5 mm) and pl. XI.

[451] BM WA 89597 – N 1099 (British Museum, "from Layard's expedition to Mesopotamia between 1845 and 1851"): Collon 2001, 74 no. 141 ("chalcedony: grey-blue", height: 26 mm, diameter: 12 [12.5] mm) and pl. XI.

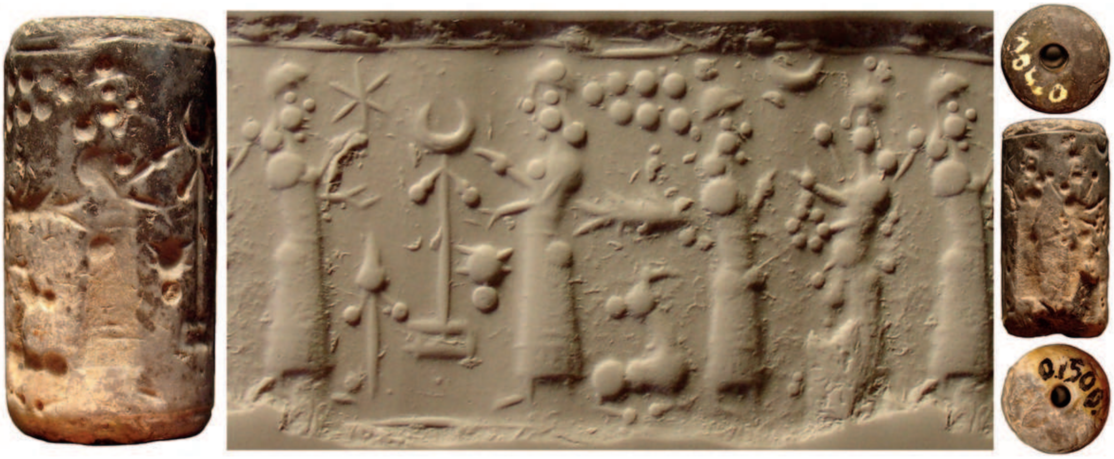
[452] For another cylinder seal which attests similarities to the object studied here in view of style and execution:
– SH 84/0000/0001 – 4466 (Deir ez-Zor Museum, from Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad): Bonatz – Kühne – Mahmoud 1998, 123 no. 115 ("chalcedony", height: 23 mm, diameter: 10 mm); Fügert 2015, vol. 2: 17–18 no. 14 ("Chalzedon, weiß mit braun-orangefarbenen Bereichen", height: 23 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and 462: 14.

70

CULTIC SCENE

Worshipper in front of Ištar encircled with stars and a standard surmounted by a crescent moon between two worshippers

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.1500
MATERIAL	"pierre bleue-grise"
DIMENSIONS	height: 29.1 mm, diameter: 14.8 mm, weight: 11.05 g
CONDITION	The upper and lower edges are chipped. The lower edge has been broken off at the height of the worshipper's feet behind Ištar, while her protruding right leg has disappeared due to a fracture.
PROVENANCE	Acquired from the antiquarian I. Élias Géjou in Paris, 23–04–1936.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	SPELEERS 1943, 112–113 no. 1500.



*This seal image depicts two cultic scenes: a worshipper before the armed Ištar as well as a standard surmounted by a tasselled crescent moon, between two worshippers. The three beardless worshippers, represented in the so-called devotional pose (*ubāna tarāṣu*), wear equally rounded headdresses with a brim and long, belted robes which terminate in a fringed edge. Ištar raises her right hand in greeting position and holds a beaded ring in her left. There is a globe designating a star on the top of her headdress, beside two wrongly placed holes. She has a hanging tassel ending in two globes below her shoulder-length hair. Two globe-tipped quivers are above her shoulders, and a sword is at her waist. Although the lower part of her long robe is obscured by a large fracture, the two drill-holes constituting the end of its tassel are visible. In the sky, a crescent moon is depicted above Ištar and her worshipper. On the left side of the divine standard, surmounted by a tasselled crescent moon and supported by a rectangular frame, there is a six-pointed star above Marduk's tasselled spade, and on its right side appears a bucranium. Behind the worshipper standing in front of Ištar are the Sibitti, a fish, and a crouching wild goat.*

In this drilled-style image, we can appreciate the well-balanced arrangement of the two cultic scenes. Among the filling motifs, the fish faces right, while the head of the crouching wild goat faces left. The iconography is characterised by deeply silhouetted bodies, the active use of drill-holes, and the strokes used to shape the details. With the combination of these elements, made by different technologies, the seal-cutter(s) formed different parts of the figures with great efficacy. The human face consists of the combination of drill-holes and strokes. The hands consist of a drill-hole on which a stroke designates the index finger. The same combination (drill-hole with a stroke) is appropriate for shaping the legs of the crouching wild goat. As a result of the simplified methods of the use of tools, the seal image reflects high stylisation. However, its iconography shows vivacity because of the great number and variety of motifs chosen. Among the filling motifs, besides the well-known astral symbols, the bucranium and the crouching wild goat have decisive roles; the former refers to the western sphere of the Assyrian Empire, while the latter serves us as a reminiscence of Mitannian glyptic art.

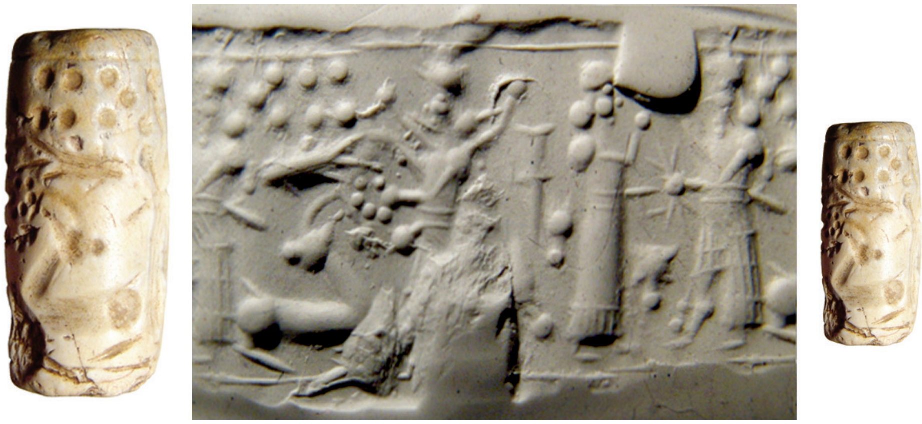


Fig. 17: Ex-Surrey 1930's. Courtesy Gabriel Vandervort – AncientResource.com (from a Surrey [England] collection, collected in the 1930's; cylinder seal) (height: 30 mm, present location unknown, unpublished) and its modern impression.

Taking into account the aforementioned iconographical features, a cylinder seal (fig. 17) from a Surrey collection, of which the present location is unknown, and the unpublished MMA 1999.325.73 cylinder seal[453] from The Metropolitan Museum of Art provide close similarities to the present seal. These examples, including the seal studied here, may originate from Syria, the western part or the sphere of the Assyrian Empire, and can be dated to the 8th or 7th centuries B.C.

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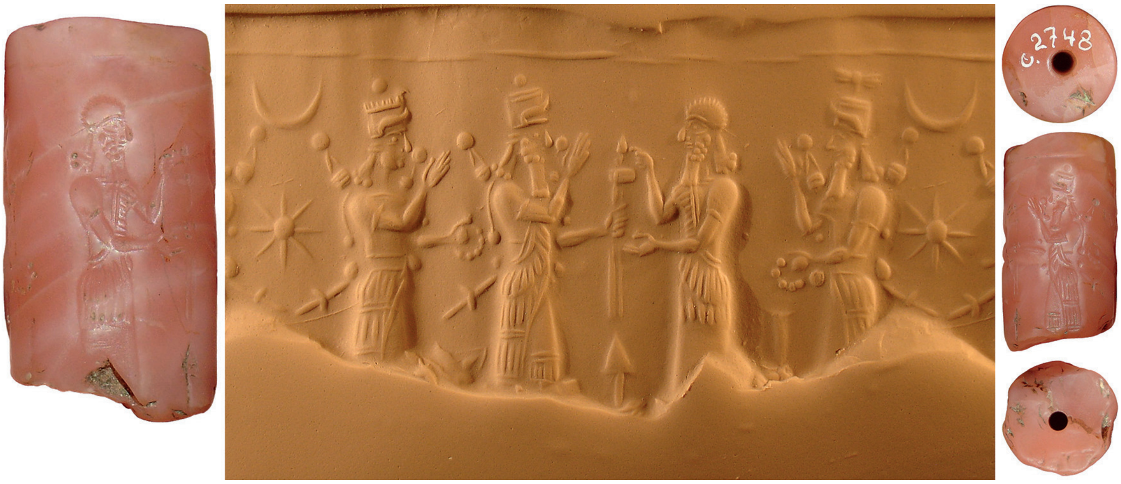
[453] MMA 1999.325.73 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art; gift of Nanette B. Kelekian): "chalcedony", height: 27 mm, diameter: 11 mm; https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/327669 (accessed 19–09–2018) (a modern impression of this cylinder seal was studied directly by the author in May 2016).

71

CULTIC SCENE

Worshipper between an armed god (probably Aššur), Ištar, and Šamaš

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2748	Plates 18–19.
MATERIAL	“carnelian”	
DIMENSIONS	height: 28.7 mm (the lower quarter of the cylinder seal has been broken off), diameter: 15.6 mm, weight: 12.05 g	
CONDITION	The upper edge is slightly damaged, while the lower quarter of the cylinder seal is broken and jagged; the disfigured surface of the lower edge has been polished. On the remaining lower field, a large chip obscures the lower part of the worshipper’s body, and another distorts most of the rhomb. Furthermore, there is a small fault above the right angle of the goddess’s headdress.	
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection, 11–10–1958.	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.	



*This cultic scene represents a worshipper facing an armed god (probably Aššur), and the armed Ištar, respectively, while Šamaš appears behind him. Unevenly engraved, partly unconnected lines constitute the upper borderline, while the lower one is not visible because of the breakage of the cylinder seal. The bearded worshipper, depicted in the so-called devotional pose (*ubāna tarāṣu*), wears, over his tunic, a long robe which has a curved fringe running from the right shoulder to his waist, with another fringe below it. It is worth mentioning that on the clothing of the god facing right, the belt is crossed over by a curved fringe running from his left shoulder. The other two divine figures are dressed in the typical arrangement of long, belted robes whose fringes are arranged in horizontal bands, bordered by a double engraved line. The three armed gods, depicted in greeting posture, have crossed quivers with bows terminating in single drill-holes above their shoulders, sheaths at their waists, and hanging tassels each ending in a drill-hole. Their attributive details allow us to differentiate and identify the deities (see below). The upper part of a spade (the symbol of Marduk) and a stylus (the symbol of Nabû) appear in front of and behind the worshipper* *respectively, and the upper third of a rhomb is observable between the divine figures facing right. Behind Ištar, there is a crescent moon above an eight-pointed star with a globe in the middle, while the lowermost symbol or motif in a vertical row has been broken off.*

Among the Neo-Assyrian cultic scenes, this depiction belongs to the group of high-quality, modelled-style seal images. The light modelling and the very fine lines and minute drill-holes represent their anatomical features, while outlined eyes, noses, lips, and hands with fingers reflect perfect detailing. The hair of the worshipper composes one of the particularities of this iconography, since his hairline is executed by short, densely arranged strokes along the contour line of his head. The use of tools can be appreciated in the shaping of the row of feathers on Ištar's headdress. Compared to the hair depictions created by short, striated strokes on other Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian seals,[454] the pattern presented above seems to be more elaborate, since the densely arranged strokes run only on the upper contour line of the head.

The present seal is also important because of the number of gods on it[455] and their identities. The god behind the worshipper is dressed in a horned headdress topped by a winged sun-disc, the attribute of Šamaš,[456] while the horned headdresses of the other two divine figures are decorated with a drill-hole designating a star. The upper edge of Ištar's headdress consists of a row of strokes indicating feathers. Ištar and Šamaš each hold a beaded ring in their left hand. The recognition of the armed god portrayed in the main position, in front of the worshipper, is problematic. Based on his place, his particular clothing, and the weapon held in his left hand, he has a primary role among the divine figures on the scene. His weapon is an axe, the shaft of which includes two vertical lines below the hand, while its head is formed by a rectangle topped by a small triangle. In the Neo-Assyrian and contemporary iconography, the claystone relief discovered in Assur, provides the closest parallel of the studied divine figure.[457] We can attest the same divine headdress with the star on the top and the similar body position, clothing, and weapons: crossed quivers with bows terminating in single discs symbolising stars above his shoulders, a sword in his belt, and an axe held in his left hand. Another figure, known from a bronze helmet kept in the collection of Axel Guttmann, holds a similarly shaped but more detailed axe (fig. 18: A).[458] Its shaft is formed by double vertical lines also, and not only the position of the armed god but the garment is similar to the studied divine figure, though the so-called *fleur-de-lys* decorates the top of his headdress and he does not wear a sword in his belt or quivers over his shoulder. On the helmet, the fringe of the god's robe similarly comes from his left shoulder and crosses his belt; however, its orientation and detailing are different from those of our divine figure. Another parallel to our figure is known from the rock relief of Eğil (fig. 18: B).[459] This armed divine figure is depicted with an axe in his left hand and a sword in his belt. Except for the *fleur-de-lys*, he wears a similar divine headdress to our figure, and although he does not wear quivers, his body position and clothing attest very close similarities to the studied figure. It is possible that these armed gods with the axe held in their left hand depict the same deity and can be connected to the same model, that is, a cultic statue.

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[454] For example:
– BM WA 89380 – 1841–7–26, 104 (British Museum, formerly kept in the collection of Claude Scott-Stewart): Lajard 1847, 6 and pl. XVII: 10; Collon 2001, 73 no. 137 ("chalcedony: grey-brown", height: 38 mm, diameter: 18.5 mm) and pl. XI;
– Del. 358 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, given by the duc de Luynes in 1862): Delaporte 1910, 201–202 no. 358 ("agate", height: 36 mm, diameter: 16 mm) and pl. XXIV;
– MAH 1963/19889 (Musées d'art et d'histoire de Genève): Vollenweider 1967, 76–77 no. 86 ("quartz rose", height: 34 mm, diameter: 16.5 mm) and pl. 39: 1–2, 4 and 6.

[455] Three divine figures appear in the following Neo-Assyrian cultic scene:
– formerly kept in the Erlenmeyer Collection: Sotheby's (London) 09–07–1992, 118 no. 199 ("agate", height: 29 mm, diameter: 19 mm).

[456] For another representation of this type of divine headdress on a Neo-Assyrian seal:
– ДВ-6520 (State Hermitage Museum): Mattila 1995, 40 (fig.) and 189 no. 56 ("stone", height: 29 mm).
A similar headdress worn by Šamaš, who is standing on a horse, is well visible on the first panel of the rock carvings of Maltai (Bachmann 1927, pl. 26; Boehmer 1975, 52–53 fig. 15: I and 62–64 figs. 35, 37–40).

[457] Ass 12320, VA 6726 (Vorderasiatisches Museum): Bachmann 1927, 36 fig. 23; Hrouda 1965, pl. 58: 6 (studied directly in January 2017 by the author).

[458] AG 504 (Axel Guttmann Collection, Berlin): Born – Seidl 1995, 16 fig. 5, 25 fig. 22 above, 37: pl. III and back covering page (esp.); Muscarella 2000, 184–186 no. 42 and 505–506 (pls.); DEZSÖ 2001, 27–30 no. 6. Muscarella 2000, 185, who questions the authenticity of the helmet, mentions the cylinder seal of Aššur-bēlu-uṣur as a possible model for it. However, the seal presented here provides closer similarities to the image depicted on the bronze helmet. For Aššur-bēl-uṣur's seal, see Delaporte 1910, 197–198 no. 354, pl. A and pl. XXIV; Niederreiter 2009, 100–101 fig. 2 (for a drawing made of the seal image); Niederreiter 2015, 142–143 no. 8 (with further bibliography).

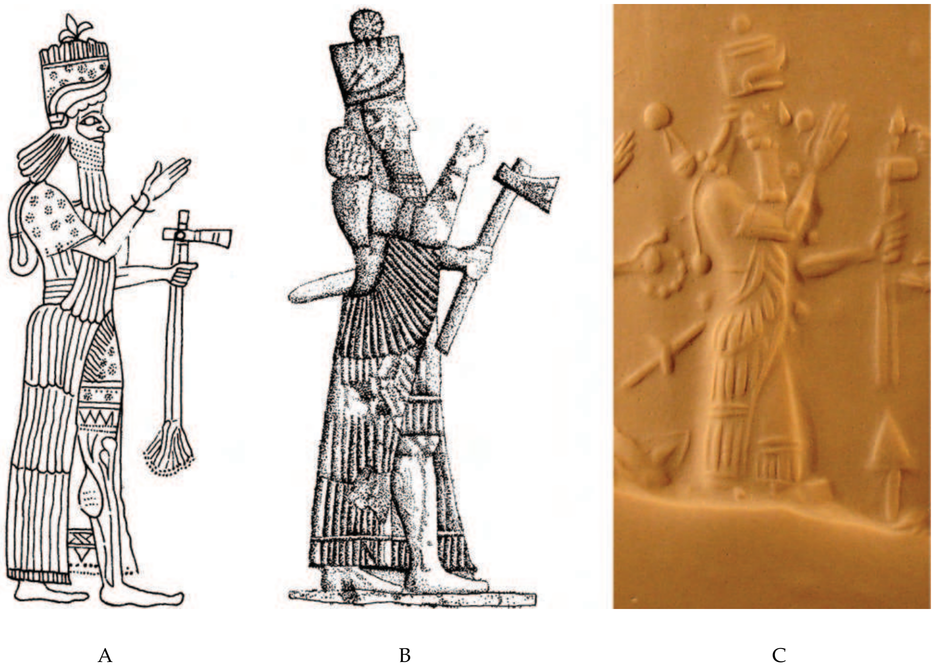
A B C

Fig. 18 (A–B): Armed gods with axe held in left hand (A) (detail with modifications based on BORN – SEIDL 1995, 25 fig. 22 above), (B) (detail with modifications based on BARTL 1999–2001, 37 fig. 5), and (C) detail on **71**

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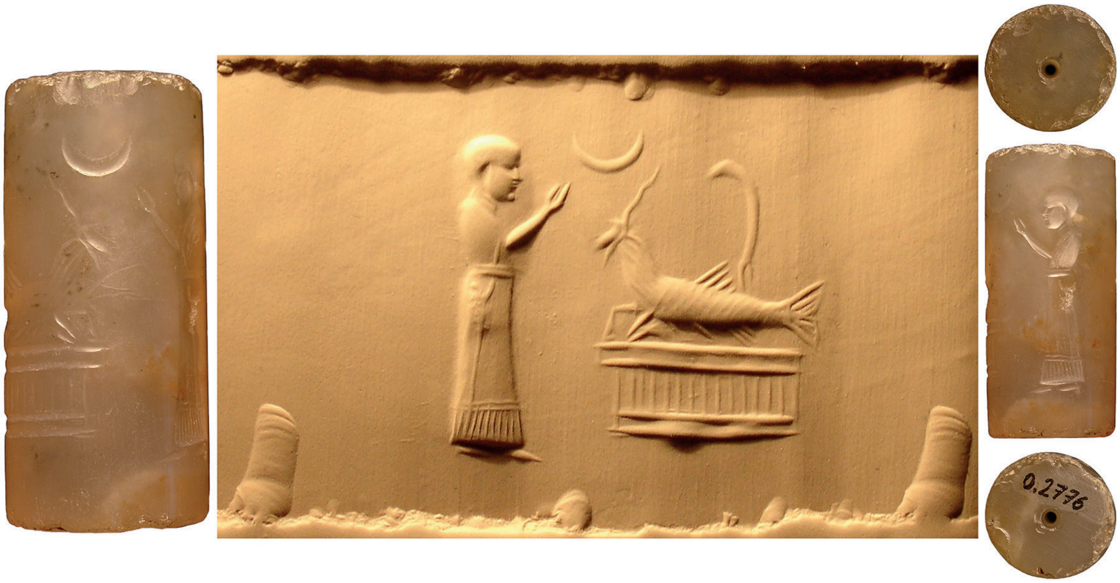
[459] BARTL 1999–2001, 28–29 (esp.) 30 (P. V. Bartl argues that the armed god is Adad and can be connected to Iupiter Dolichenus), 36 fig. 4 and 37 fig. 5.

72

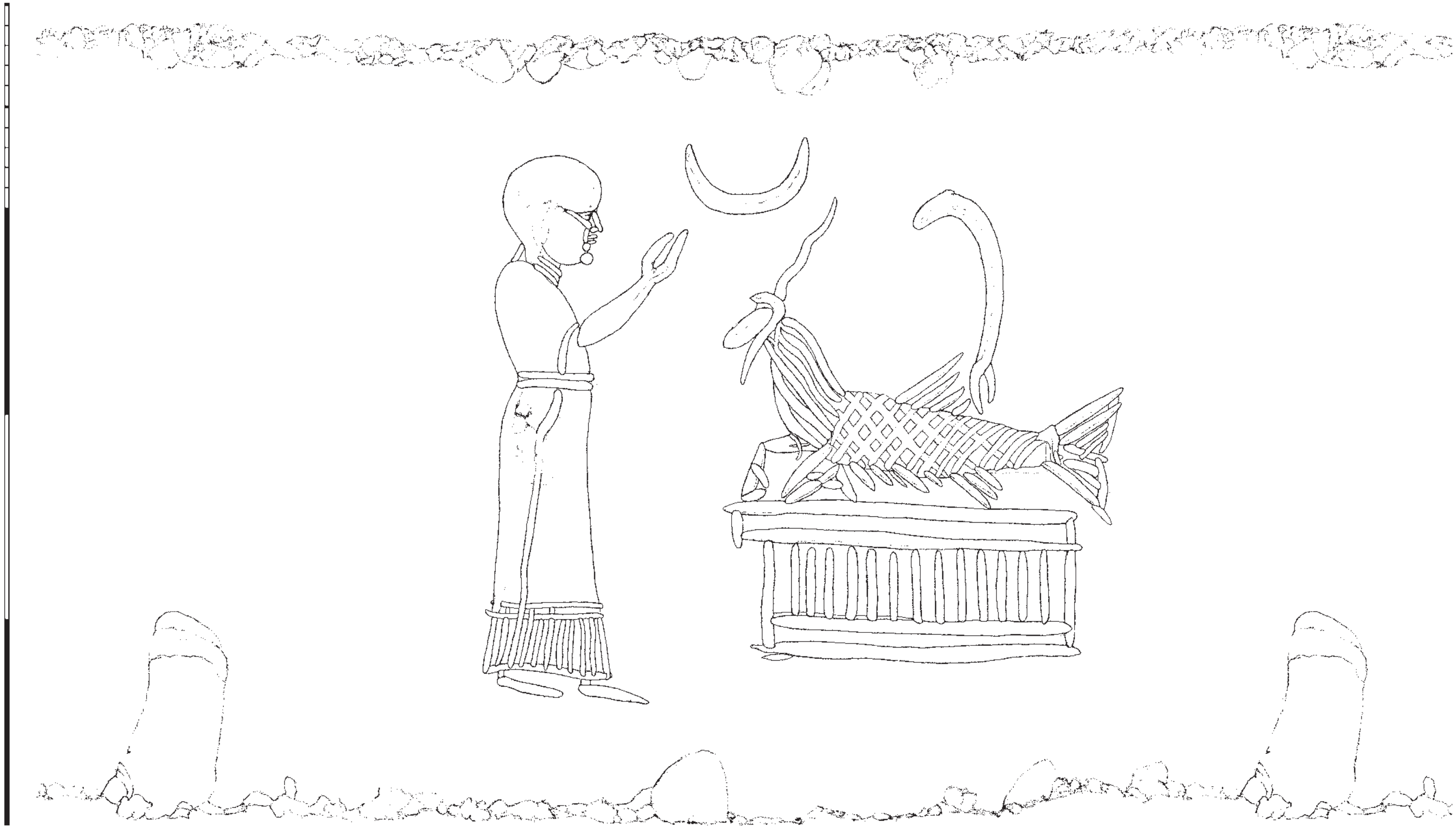
CULTIC SCENE

Priest before a goat-fish on a cult dais

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2776	Plate 18.
MATERIAL	"grey chalcedony"	
DIMENSIONS	height: 38.8 mm, diameter: 17.9 mm, weight: 24.36 g	
CONDITION	The upper and lower edges are chipped, and there is a large chip on the lower field. Furthermore, a fault distorts the pleat of the priest's long robe below his belt.	
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection, 11–10–1958.	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.	



*This cultic scene represents a priest and a goat-fish (*šuḫurmāšu*) on a cult dais in front of him. The shaven-headed, beardless figure, facing right, is depicted with an upraised right hand, whose open palm is held in front of his mouth. He wears a long, belted robe whose lower part terminates in a long fringed hem, while an almost vertical line running from the elbow to the lower hem marks the pleat of the robe. The goat-fish depicted on the cult dais raises its right foreleg and kneels on the other. One of its curvilinear long horns, its beard, and the fur, designated with striped parallel lines, can be seen. Surface cross-lines mark the scale pattern on its fish body, while the fins on the back and the belly are equally depicted with parallel lines. The caudal fin also has a naturalistic appearance. On its back beside the fin is the crook of Ea, whose curved upper part is turned forward (the ram head is omitted from it) while the lower part terminates in the form of a hand, similarly shaped to that of the priest. The cult dais (*parakku*) has an upper and lower rectangular element with fifteen vertical lines depicted between them. In the sky there is a crescent moon at the height of the priest's eye and above the head of the goat-fish.*



On this modelled-style image, the cultic scene takes hardly more than half of the available field, similarly to comparable examples;[460] the seal-bearer rolled or pressed only the depicted part of the seal on the tablet and complemented this with a hand-made inscription. The narrow empty bands above and below the depicted image provide another characteristic of these seals. The upper and lower fields without depictions allow us to suppose the use of mounts for these cylinder seals.[461] On the lower field of the present seal, the extra-large chip could have occurred when the lower mount was removed.

The figure's facial features are characterised by the lightly formed eye with a very small drill-hole in it, the end of the nose and the chin shaped with very small drill-holes, the gently curving line designating the ear, and the nose and lips shaped with minute straight strokes. If we consider it together with other shaven-headed beardless figures, we can conclude that they do not attest any personal features but that their common elements, such as clothing, gesture, and their great stature indicate a well-established position, which may imply their prominent status in their society.

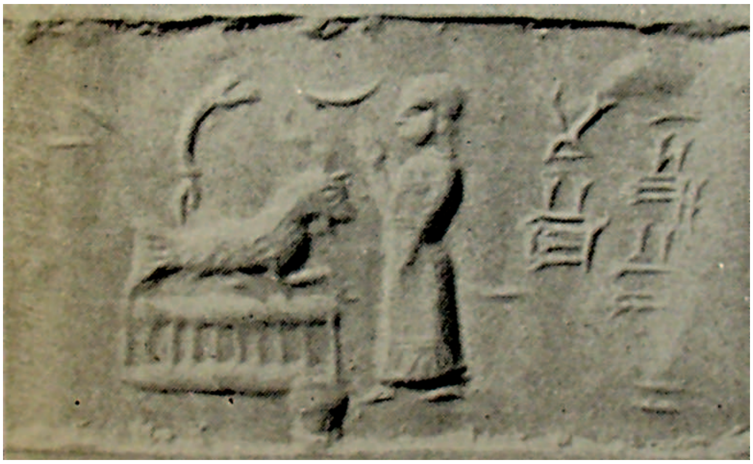


Fig. 19: Modern impression of a cylinder seal kept in the Buffalo Museum of Science (based on Ingholt 1944, 11 no. 27) (see footnote 462).

INSCRIPTION	1) ^{na4}KIŠIB	*kunuk*	Cylinder seal of
	2) ^{md}AG–GIN–A	*Nabû-mukīn-apli*	Nabû-mukīn-apli.

As for the iconographical conventions related to the hand position of the present figure, it is worth mentioning a cylinder seal kept in the Buffalo Museum of Science on which the figure faces left and raises its right hand, while the left is lowered (fig. 19).[462] On this inscribed seal image and the present image, we can find the same motifs and arrangement of the figures, although in inverse direction. However, the Buffalo seal displays a more detailed image, since it depicts the ram head of the crook with a bracelet above the lowered hand and modelled goat head of a goat-fish (*šuḫurmāšu*) (literally "carp-goat")[463] with a differently shaped scale pattern on its body.[464]

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[460] COLLON 2001, 193–195.

[461] COLLON 2001, 193.

[462] Buffalo Museum of Science (gift of Mr. and Mrs. Chauncey J. Hamlin): INGHOLT 1944, 11 no. 27.

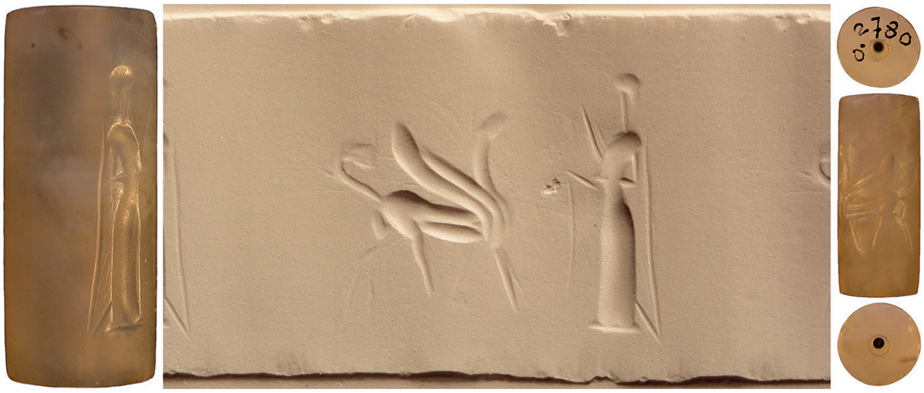
The cylinder seals depicting the priests[465] appear early in the reign of Nabonidus, which may explain the dominant role of the crescent moon among the astral symbols in these scenes. The use of these seals is attested until the reign of Xerxes (485–465 B.C.).

73

Cultic scene

Female worshipper in front of a lion-dragon

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2780
MATERIAL	
DIMENSIONS	height: 26.5 mm, diameter: 10.9 mm, weight: 5.83 g
CONDITION	There is a fault in front of the lowered hand of the female worshipper.
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection (said to be from the region situated "entre l'Élam et Persépolis"), 11–10–1958.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.



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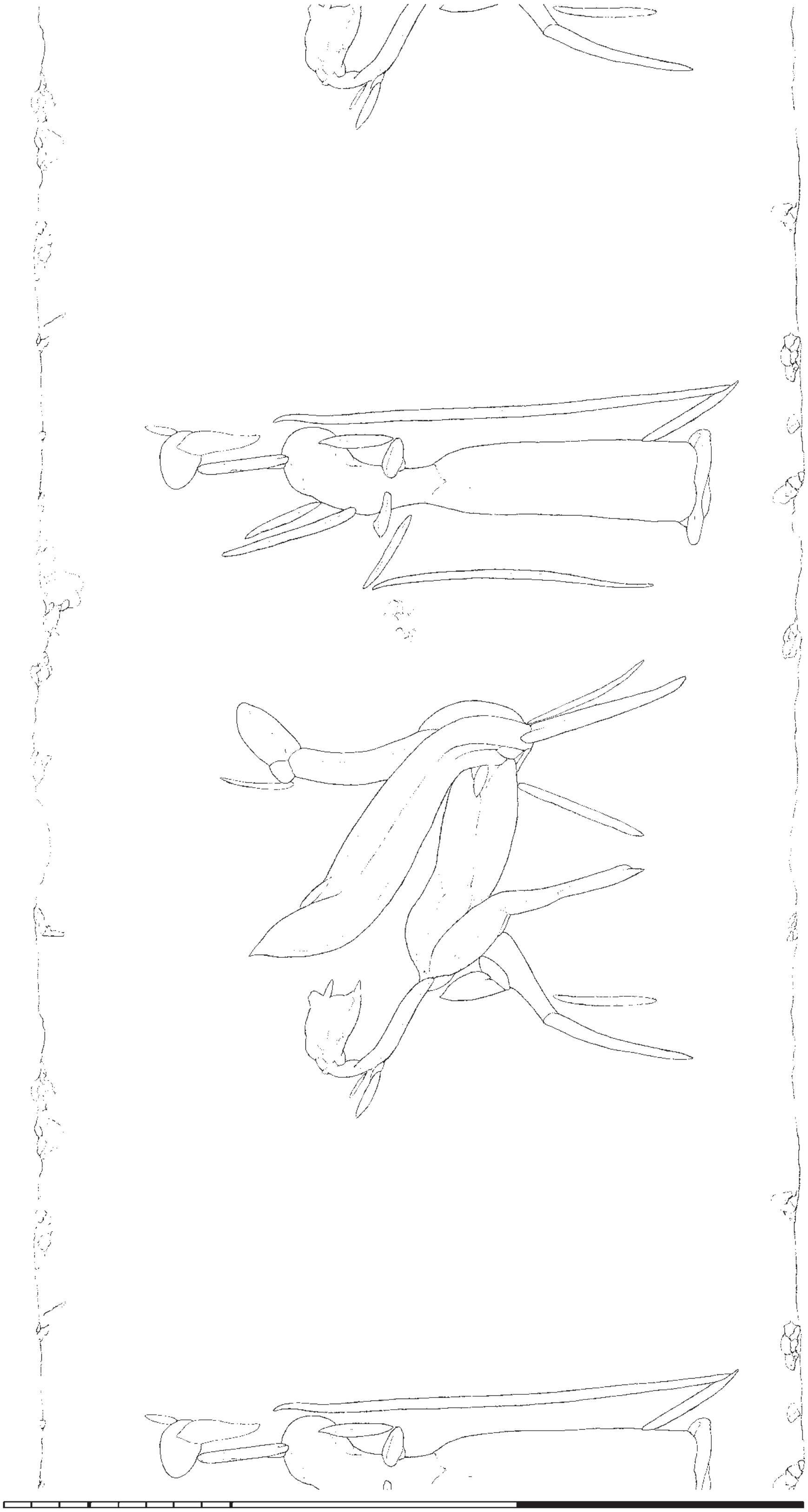
[463] Green 1986; Green 1994, 257–258: § 3.2.3 and fig. 23.

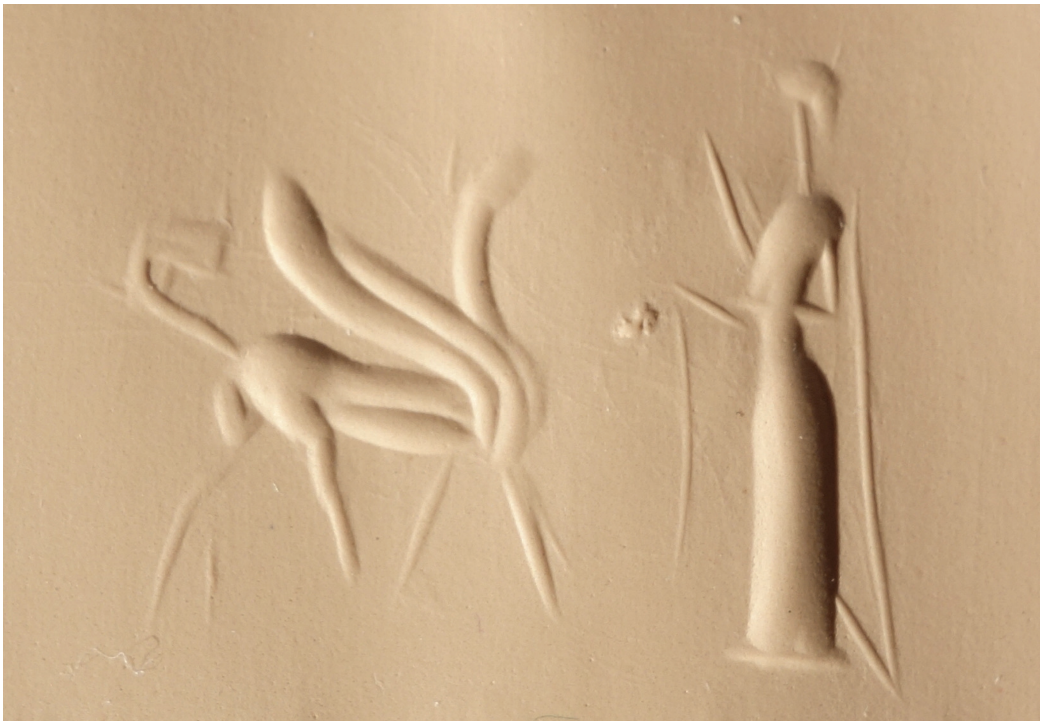
[464] For other depictions of the goat-fish with the crook of Ea on a cult dais:
– Morgan 784 (Morgan Library & Museum): Porada 1948, 95 no. 784 ("lapis lazuli", height: 41 mm, diameter: 17 mm) and pl. CXIX;
– CR 198 – J 988 (Palestine Museum, from Tell Gemmeh [Gerar]): Petrie 1928, 10–11 no. 50 and pl. XIX: 29; Parker 1949, 7 no. 7 ("lapis lazuli") and pl. I;
– Drouot (Paris) 14–05–1982, no. 436 ("jaspe", height: 36.4 mm, diameter: 15.3 mm);
– 77.52.3 (Brooklyn Museum, acquired in 1849): Green 1986, 28 ("brown chalcedony", height: 26.5 mm, diameter: 13.5 mm) and pl. X: *c* (only a baseline appears below the goat-fish, instead of the cult dais);
– MN 105 – N 8371 [3327] (Musée du Louvre): Delaporte 1923, 173 no. A.770 ("sardoine grise", height: 25 mm, diameter: 13 mm) and pl. 90: 9 (without the depiction of the cult dais).

[465] For similar seal images and their dates, see MacGinnis 1995, 172–173 (esp.); Collon 2001, 193; Altavilla – Walker 2009, 119–136 (esp.); Reiche – Sandowicz 2009, 201–202; Altavilla – Walker 2016, 112–113 and 119.



This ritual scene represents a lion-dragon facing right in front of a standing female worshipper. The mythical creature has a long, gently curved neck, one wing which turns upward and is divided longitudinally, similarly to its body, legs marked by tapering straight lines and an upraised tail curving backwards and terminating in a broadening end. The female figure is depicted with a long neck and a slender hollow-backed body; her long robe terminates in a hem marked by a straight line. She raises her right arm while the left arm, bent at the elbow, is kept horizontal and appears to be prolonged with an oblique line. From the upper end of this line, another one runs down parallel to her lower body. Behind her body, another line runs down from her shoulder below the lower edge of her long robe. The lower end of this line is connected with an oblique, 45-degree line that begins from the lower part of her body. More than one-third of the scene is left empty, seemingly intended to bear an inscription.

The iconography of this modelled-style seal is exceptional in view of its quality and the skill of its execution. The scene and its style attest the main characteristics of the Neo-Elamite seals of high quality, but this seal image is unfinished, which allows us to get an insight into its creation process. We can attest here the first two phases, that is, the shaping of the silhouettes by the grooves and the disposition of the main lines, mainly the upright ones. The worshipper's face is marked by the prolongation of the upper neck and the omission of the hands and feet; also omitted are the muzzle, feathers, and paws of the lion-dragon – details which would have been rendered with careful modelling, drill-holes, and fine linear traits applied by different tools during the later work phases.



Enlarged detail on seal image **73.**

This cultic scene can be identified thanks to Neo-Elamite cylinder seals (Table 5: 1–7) and seal impressions (Table 5: 8–9), which depict similar figures; moreover, we can identify the character of the worshipper and understand the meaning of the lines in front of and behind this figure.

Table 5: Cultic scenes depicting female worshippers in front of a hybrid creature on seals from Neo-Elamite art or under its influence.

	MUSEUM NR.	**PROVENANCE**	**MATERIAL**	**DIMENSIONS**	**INSCRIPTION**
1[466]	Sb 6873	Susa	“calcaire gris-crème”	h: 27, d: 11	uninscribed
2[467]	NCBS 451	unknown	“mottled jasper”	h: 18.9, d: 11.8	*ibid.*
3[468]	private coll.	*ibid.*	“orange carnelian”[469]	h: 23, d: 9	*ibid.*
4[470]	CS 272	Chigha Sabz	“speckled granite”	h: 23, d: 11	inscribed
5[471]	Surena Coll.	unknown	“brown and gray agate”	h: 26, d: 11	*ibid.*
6[472]	BM WA 132234	*ibid.*	“chalcedony: brown”	h: 2.3–2.6, d: 12.5	*ibid.*
7[473]	BLMJ Seal 494	*ibid.*	“chalcedony”	h: 26, d: 12	uninscribed
8[474]	PFS 12a (on rev. of PF 1998)	Persepolis	seal impression		*ibid.*
9[475]	PFS 706* (on rev. of PF 1186)	*ibid.*	*ibid.*		inscribed

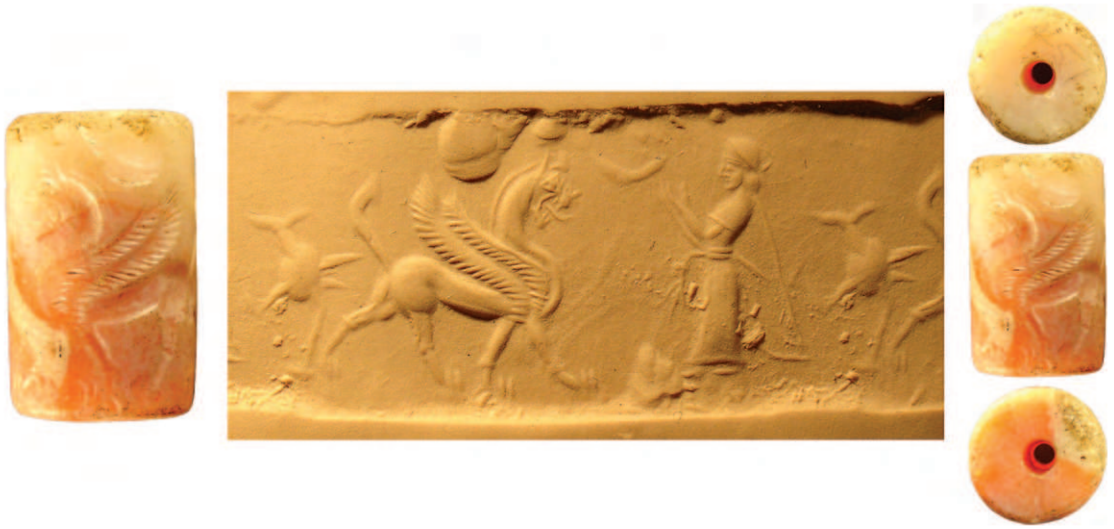


Fig. 20: NCBS 451 cylinder seal (“mottled jasper”, height: 18.9 mm, diameter: 11.8 mm) and its modern impression (see Table 5: 2 and footnote 467).

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[466] Sb 6873 – AO 2185 (Musée du Louvre, from Susa): Amiet 1972, 282 no. 2185 and pl. 188; Amiet 1973a, 30 no. 45 and pl. VII. A worshipper faces two human-headed bird-scorpions who stand in front of each other.

[467] NCBS 451 (Yale Babylonian Collection, formerly kept in the Newell Collection): von der Osten 1934, 66 no. 451 and pl. XXX; Amiet 1973a, 30 no. 47 and pl. VII (studied directly in May 2016 by the author).

[468] “Private collector” in the South of England: Lambert 1970, 48 fig. 3 and 49–50 no. (iii); Amiet 1973a, 30 no. 46 and pl. VII.

[469] The bronze suspension loop of this “very slightly convex” (Lambert 1970, 48 fig. 3) cylinder seal has remained.

[470] CS 272 (Chigha Sabz) – MIB (Muze-ye Iran Bastan): van Loon 1989A, 24, 422 no. 69, 459 no. 235:69, pls. 235 and 259: c. For the inscription, see Brinkman 1989, 459 no. 15.

[471] Formerly kept in the Surena Collection: Christie’s (New York) 11–06–2001, 72 no. 529.

[472] BM WA 132234 – 1957–10–17, 7 (British Museum): Merrillees 2005, 72 no. 67 and pl. XXVI.

[473] BLMJ Seal 494 (Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem): Oshima 2004, 71 no. 24. The cultic scene, which depicts a female figure with a bucket in her lowered left hand in front of a mušḫuššu-dragon, has been identified as Neo-Babylonian.

[474] On the reverse of PF 1998 (Chicago, from Persepolis): Amiet 1973a, 29 no. 26 and pl. VI; Garrison 2000, pl. XXI: 16.

[475] On the reverse of PF 1186 (Chicago, from Persepolis): Garrison 2000, 145–146 fig. 23 and pl. XXV: 23.

Among the collected examples, one cylinder seal (Table 5: 2) (fig. 20)[476] provides a finished, and the closest, parallel to our seal image, while another (Table 5: 6) gives a unique opportunity to reveal the shaping of the studied figure's clothing. Moreover, the line which appears as a prolongation of the lowered arm of the present figure can also be explained thanks to the London seal, where the figure holds a smaller figure placed on a similar line. As for the line below the hand on the present figure, a similarly disposed double line depicted on a cylinder seal (Table 5: 5) kept formerly in the Surena Collection provides a parallel, though its function remains in question. Regarding the lion-dragon, an inscribed cylinder seal kept in the Bibel+Orient Museum[477] provides its closest parallel in terms of the body position, the gently sloping neck, and the elongated tail terminating in a broadening end.[478] Concerning the role of the worshippers vis-à-vis the collected examples, we suppose that some of them are surely female, similarly to the studied figure.[479]

Among the Neo-Elamite seal depictions studied in the present catalogue, we can remark on the presence of the typical characters of hunting men (based on their two types: Tables 1 and 2) as well as female characters from the Neo-Elamite iconography, appearing as worshippers standing before one of the mythical creatures, usually a lion-dragon, whose importance can be revealed based on these Neo-Elamite seals. These examples depicting female worshippers point out their significant role and a well-established system in which they are depicted with particular clothes in front of mythical creatures in cultic scenes. It is worth mentioning that the arrangement of the figures on the field, the minimal use of motifs, and the omission of base lines, with the field reserved for seal legends, reveal common characteristics of these Neo-Elamite seal images. It is difficult to come to a conclusion on the exact date of these seal images, but the iconography implies Late Neo-Elamite to early Achaemenid dates, and the examples known due to ancient impressions can confirm this interpretation.

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[476] I am very grateful to Agnete Lassen (Associate Curator of Yale Babylonian Collection) who allowed me to study the cylinder seal and publish the present photograph of its impression.

[477] VR 1981.213 (Bibel+Orient Museum, Sammlung der Universität Fribourg): KEEL-LEU – TEISSIER 2004, 225–226 no. 252 ("hellblau und brauner Quarz", height: 25 mm, diameter: 11.2 mm), 369 and 450 (pl.).

For an inscribed Neo-Elamite cylinder seal depicting two prancing lion-dragons which cross their wings:

– AO 2108 (Musée du Louvre, acquired in 1893): DELAPORTE 1923, 182: A.838 ("pierre rosâtre", height: 20 mm, diameter: 9 mm) and pl. 94: 7 (A.838); AMIET 1973A, 30 no. 36 and pl. VII.

For inscribed seals depicting single lion-dragons in walking position:

– AOD 110 (Musée du Louvre, formerly kept in the Dieulafoy Collection): DELAPORTE 1920, 76: D. 116 ("pierre jaunâtre", height: 25 mm, diameter: 10 mm) and pl. 53: 12; AMIET 1973A, 30 no. 44 and pl. VII;

– Anavian Collection: VOLK 1979, no. 169 ("pink and cream serpentine", height: 23 mm, diameter: 10 mm);

– Collection X…: Drouot (Paris) 30–03–1981, no. 107 ("calcite beige", height: 21 mm, diameter: 10 mm).

[478] On another inscribed Neo-Elamite cylinder seal, we can attest a very similar body position, with gently sloping neck and elegantly shaped legs, as on the present seal; however, the head and tail reveal that this mythical figure is a winged horse:

– AO 7222 (Musée du Louvre): DELAPORTE 1923, 182: A.837 ("calcédoine blonde, lactée et saphirine", height: 19 mm, diameter: 9 mm) and pl. 94: 6 (A.837).

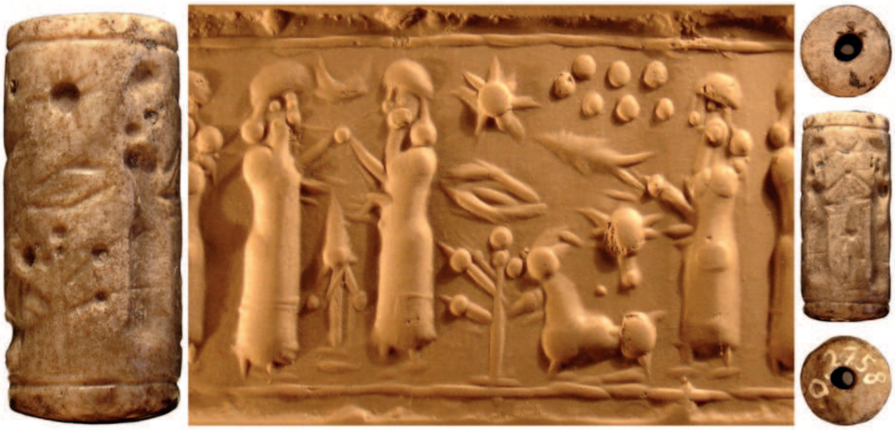
[479] Note that a few such figures wear a dagger at their waist (e.g. fig. 20).

74

Cultic Scene

Tasselled spade (symbol of Marduk) between two worshippers and filling motifs in front of a worshipper

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2758
MATERIAL	
DIMENSIONS	height: 27.8 mm, diameter: 12.0 mm (slightly barrel-shaped), weight: 6.86 g
CONDITION	The upper and lower edges are chipped.
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection, 11–10–1958.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.



This seal image, depicted between two borderlines at the top and bottom, represents two scenes. One of them depicts a standing worshipper on either side of a tasselled spade (symbol of Marduk), with a crescent moon above them. Behind these figures, a worshipper facing left is standing before different filling motifs. Among them, an eight-pointed star with a globe in the middle appears with the Sibitti in the sky above a rhomb and a fish facing left, while, on the lower half of the field, a bucranium and a crouching goat with a stylised tree are depicted.

On this drilled-style seal, the figures are characterised by boldly shaped silhouettes constituting their bodies, which are supplemented by larger drill-holes. Another evident feature is the shaping of the worshippers' heads, created by a rounded headdress, a large beard, and shoulder-length hair hanging down, while on the face, shaped by two large drill-holes, facial details such as the nose and occasionally the mouth are shaped by single strokes, while small drill-holes designate the eye and the end of the nose.[480] The combination of a straight engraving and a midsized drill-hole towards the end followed by a stroke is used to shape the worshippers' hands (similarly to the branches of the stylised tree). As for the competence of the seal-cutter(s), it is worth mentioning the uppermost small branch on the left side of the stylised tree and the left-hand tassel on the spade, which seems to be incorrectly made using a light engraving that crosses the stem of the divine symbol of Marduk. Although the iconography is based on these repetitive forms and the limited technology, they still reflect an originality and vivacity alongside their simplicity, due to the varied arrangement and combination of the chosen filling motifs. The result creates a particular freedom of line in the design, though the connection among the motifs chosen to fill the scene may be questionable. On a cylinder seal kept formerly in the Newell Collection,[481] eclectic choice and freely disposed arrangement of the filling motifs, similar to the present seal, also appear. For further stylistic features and the date and localisation of this present seal image, see **70**.

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[480] Similar stylised facial features and use of tools are presented by D. Collon for cylinder seals kept in the British Museum. See for example:
– BM WA 119326 – 1928–2–11, 29 (British Museum, "acquired from Major V.E. Mocatta; perhaps found at Warka"): Collon 2001, 132 no. 249 ("quartz, chalcedony: cream", height: 24 mm, diameter: 11.5 mm) and pl. III.

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[481] NCBS 446 (Yale Babylonian Collection, formerly kept in the Newell Collection): VON DER OSTEN 1934, 65 no. 446 ("smoky chalcedony", height: 28 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and pl. XXX.

IX.

MODERN (I.E., FAKE) CYLINDER SEALS (75–80)

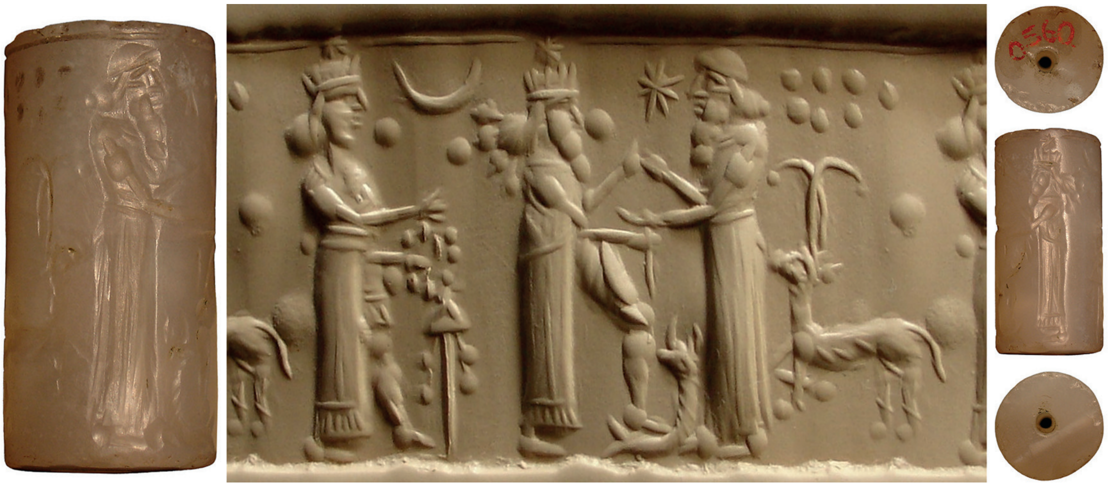
75

MODERN (I.E., FAKE) CYLINDER SEAL

CULTIC SCENE

Worshipper in front of two deities

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.560	Plate 19.
MATERIAL	"pierre blanche opaque"	
DIMENSIONS	height: 29.5 mm, diameter: 14.5 mm, weight: 11.73 g	
CONDITION	The upper and lower edges are slightly chipped.	
PROVENANCE	According to L. Speleers's descriptions (SPELEERS 1920, 14; SPELEERS 1923A, 20), l'abbé de Genouillac acquired several cylinder seals (O.469–593) in Syria during his travels of 1911–12. The museum bought this lot in Paris (1913).	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	SPELEERS 1917, 188–189 no. 560; SPELEERS 1920, 30 and pl. XI; SPELEERS 1923A, 48–49 and pl. VII.	



This cultic scene, framed by an upper borderline, represents two deities facing right and a worshipper in front of them. The scene is a modern copy of the cylinder seal kept in the Morgan Library & Museum (fig. 21).[482] *The main composition, constituting the three figures and all of the secondary or filling motifs*

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[482] Morgan 695 (Morgan Library & Museum): WARD 1909, 81 no. 172 and pl. XXIV; PORADA 1948, 85 no. 695 ("brownish chalcedony", height: 32 mm, diameter: 14 mm) and pl. CIII (studied directly in May 2016 by the author).

(crescent moon, eight-pointed star, Sibitti, tasselled spade, and wild goat or gazelle), is borrowed from that seal, with small alterations. However, the technology, the style, and the misinterpretation of some details attest that the seal-cutter(s) were not familiar with the Neo-Assyrian iconography.

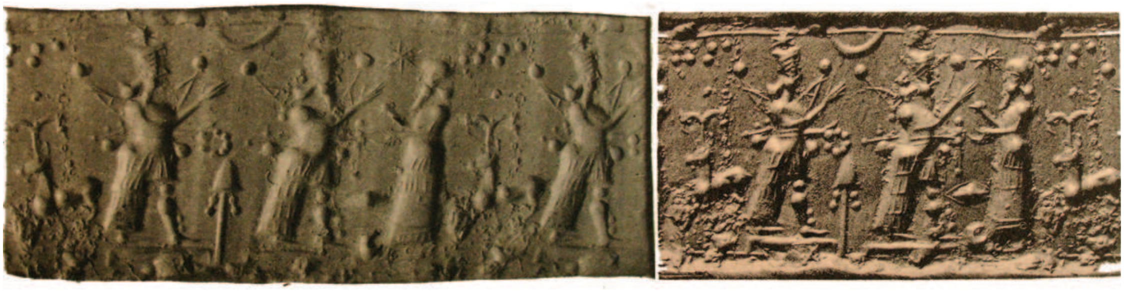
A B

Fig. 21 (A–B): Two different impressions of the Morgan 695 seal: (A) (based on Ward 1909, pl. XXIV: 172) and (B) (based on Porada 1948, pl. CIII: 695) (see footnote 482).

W. H. Ward presented the Morgan seal in his catalogue published in 1909, while l'abbé de Genouillac acquired the present cylinder seal in Syria during his travels of 1911–12. Since the circumstances of the acquisition are unknown, the question is left open as to whether Ward's catalogue with the photo of the seal impression (fig. 21: A) and its description were used to make the present specimen, or whether an impression of the seal was at the disposition of the seal-cutter(s). However, the first possibility, that is, that the present cylinder seal was made based on Ward's publication, seems to be more probable. Regarding the dimensions of the Morgan seal, it is interesting to note that the catalogue of Ward gives them as "length, 30 mm., diameter of end, 14 mm." (Ward 1909, 81 no. 172), almost identical to the present seal (height: 29.5 mm, diameter: 14.5 mm), while E. Porada (1948) gives the Morgan seal's exact dimensions: height: 32 mm, diameter: 14 mm.[483] Another argument in favour of this theory is that the lower borderline is not indicated on the present seal and also is not visible on the photo published in Ward's catalogue (fig. 21: A). Although the lower part of the field of the Morgan seal is damaged, small sections of the lower borderline survived on the seal (fig. 21: B), as they are clearly visible on the photo published by E. Porada (1948) who made a new impression of the cylinder seal.

While engraving the present seal, the seal-cutter(s) were faced with some difficulties, because the Morgan seal has several damaged parts on the surface which do not allow for easy identification of the details. These are behind the god's head and below the body of the wild goat or gazelle, whose legs are partly invisible. On the same field of the present seal, there is a row of four drill-holes which border the lower part of the god's hair, constituting an elongated part of it, a technique unattested in the Neo-Assyrian art, while the legs of the goat are boldly arranged, in place of the symmetrically disposed forelegs and hind legs turning in towards each other.[484] On the Morgan seal, four drill-holes, representing astral symbols (globes), respectively constitute the top and lower parts of the two deities' quivers, with bows depicted above their shoulders and the lower parts terminating at the height of their waist. Although the upper drill-holes are made at the same height on the present seal, the quivers with bows and the lower holes are missing except for one behind the goddess. Besides them, our seal-cutter(s) were not able to recognise the two deities' sheaths at the waist on the poor-quality modern impression or image in the catalogue of Ward, and so they completely ignored them, while the beaded ring held by the goddess seems to be exaggerated compared to the original one. Contrary to these deficiencies or misinterpretations, the divine headdresses are depicted with a row of upright strokes which may copy the feathers known on the Babylonian divine headdresses and later on the Assyrian headdresses also. This modification is known in the corpus; however, there is no explication for the god's pose with the disproportionate and awkward raised left leg, placed on a hybrid creature whose strange appearance is unparalleled in the Neo-Assyrian iconography. The well-known rhomb is positioned in this space on the Morgan seal and is hardly recognisable in Ward's publication (and in turn is well-shaped on the seal image, see fig. 21: a versus b). This particular alteration thus has to be the seal-cutter's choice, which results in an individual specimen but means that the scene can no longer be counted among the genuine Neo-Assyrian seal images.

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[483] Porada 1948, 85 no. 695.

[484] For the conventional arrangement:
- BM WA 89406 – 1846–5–23, 338 (British Museum, formerly kept in the collection of J. R. Steuart): Lajard 1847, 8 and pl. XXIX: 6; Collon 2001, 131 no. 244 ("quartz, rock crystal: colourless, transparent", height: 25 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and pl. XX.

For further details about the working method and activity of the seal-cutter(s) working on the present cylinder seal, see **76**.

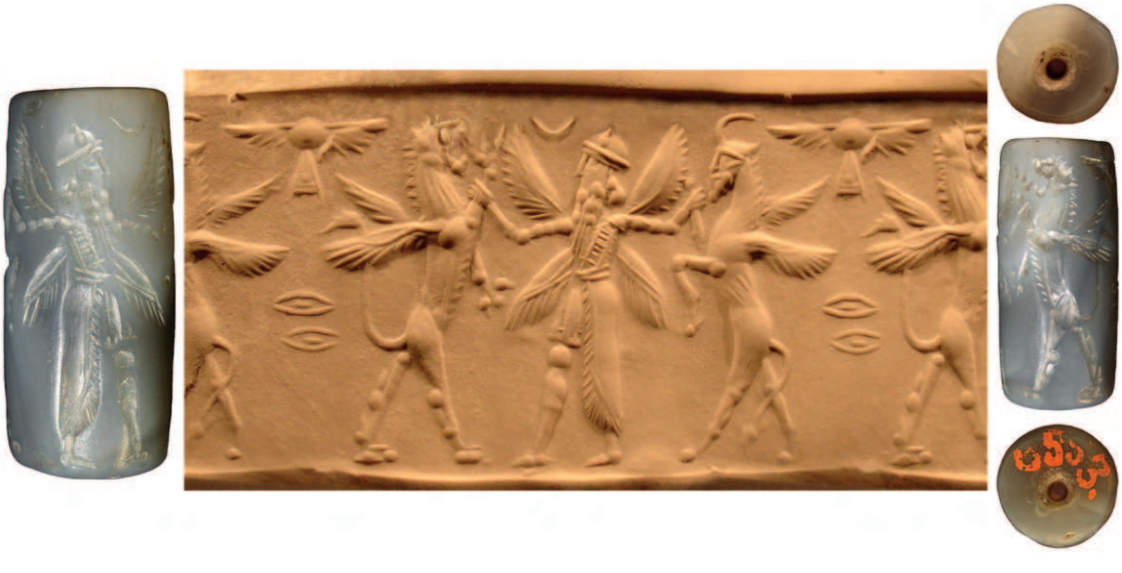
76

Modern (i.e., fake) cylinder seal

Contest scene

Winged hero between a winged lion and a winged ibex with a human face

museum number	O.553	Plate 19.
material	"pierre verdâtre opaque"	
dimensions	height: 35.8 mm, diameter: 16.4 mm (slightly barrel-shaped), weight: 17.36 g	
condition	A fault distorts the central part of the winged hero's headdress.	
provenance	According to L. Speleers's descriptions (Speleers 1920, 14; Speleers 1923a, 20), l'abbé de Genouillac acquired several cylinder seals (O.469–593) in Syria during his travels of 1911–12. The museum bought this lot in Paris (1913).	
bibliography	Speleers 1917, 182 no. 553; Speleers 1920, 29 and pl. XI; Speleers 1923a, 46–47 and pl. VII.	



This contest scene represents a winged hero facing left between a winged lion and a winged ibex with a bearded human face. Above the hero's right upper wing, a crescent moon appears in the sky, and behind the two creatures, a winged sun-disc with a flaring tail is above their upper wings, while two superimposed rhombs are below their lower wings.

The subject of the scene and the choice of main figures are well known in the Assyrian and Babylonian seal images.[485] Furthermore, the arrangement of the main figures and their shaping are similar to the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian contest scenes. However, the inappropriate execution of the seal image and selected details make it evident that this object is not genuine. In the case of the winged hero, it is interesting to note the face (the triangular form of the nose and the eye with a hole in the middle), large beard shaped by different-sized drill-holes arranged irregularly, and the rounded headdress with a double brim (a fault covers the central part of the headdress). The patterning of the clothes on the upper body is executed by long oblique parallel lines, and there is a framed band from the shoulder to the belt, which consists of a row of densely arranged short lines. Furthermore, his upper arms, articulated by drill-holes arranged in a line, also differ from similar examples, and the appearance of two rhombs (in superimposed position) instead of a single rhomb is also unusual.

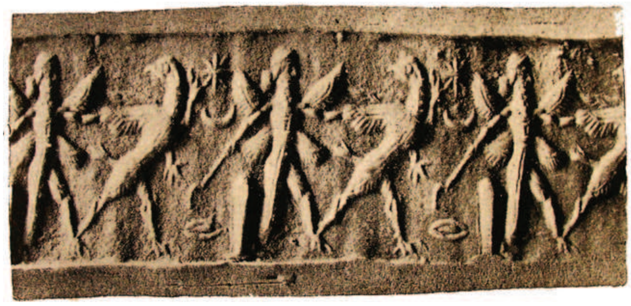


Fig. 22: Modern seal impression of cylinder seal IB. SA: 100 ("translucent quartz with red stains", height: 31 mm, diameter: 12 mm) (based on VAN BUREN 1940, pl. XII. 105) (see footnote 486).

Taking into account the aforementioned features, we suppose that a cylinder seal kept in the Vatican Museum (fig. 22)[486] provides the closest parallel to the present seal. On the contest scene of the Vatican seal, we can appreciate the winged hero's similar face, particularly the beard, and headdress. The long robe with fringed edges and the protruding leg with the lower edge of his tunic above it may be compared to those of our hero. Furthermore, the proportions of the upper and lower wings and their silhouettes are shaped similarly in the two seal images. The feathers are indicated by a row of lines with a double framing edge above. Besides the shaping of the feathers, the disposition of the creatures' wings reflects the partial covering of the hind(er) wing, of which only the upper part and tip are visible. We should emphasise the importance of the secondary motifs, which attest the same proportions and form on the two seal images: the crescent moon and the rhomb in each image are identical. Furthermore, there are two cylinder seals,[487-488] kept in the United States National Museum, which depict the winged hero between two mythical creatures. These contest scenes are awkwardly shaped compared to the present seal; however, the heroes' head and the wings of the figures are shaped according to the aforementioned patterns. Moreover, the winged sun-disc with the tail, depicted on those seals and on the present seal image, seems to have originated from the same model, though their execution again reflects lower quality.

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[485] *E.g.* Moore 146 (Moore Collection): EISEN 1940, 53 no. 91 ("chalcedony" stamp seal with two convex oval faces, 24 × 21 mm) and pl. X.

[486] IB. SA: 100 (Pontificio Istituto Biblico, present location Musei Vaticani): VAN BUREN 1940, 49–50 no. 105 ("translucent quartz with red stains", height: 31 mm, diameter: 12 mm) and pl. XII.

Finally, it is worth comparing the present and the previous cylinder seal (**75**), which originate from the same modern workshop.[489] In the case of the winged hero and the human-faced winged ibex on the present seal and the bearded figures on seal **75**, we can appreciate the similar detailing of the beards, the use of drill-holes (see for example the worshipper's arm and the hero's arms, articulated continuously by different-sized drill-holes, as preferred by this workshop), and the simple combination of engraved lines and drill-holes forming the facial features.

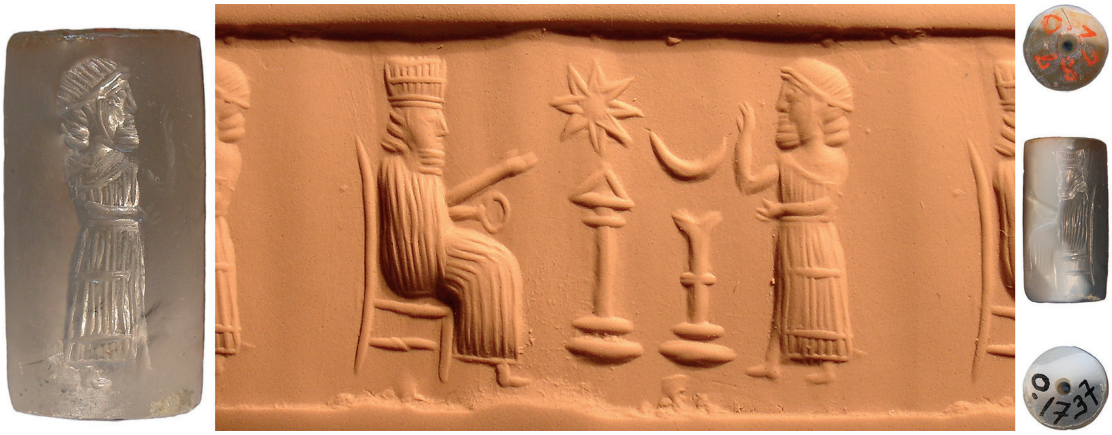
77

Modern (i.e., fake) cylinder seal

Cultic scene,

Worshipper in front of a god

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.1737
MATERIAL	
DIMENSIONS	height: 22.4 mm, diameter: 11.7 mm (slightly barrel-shaped), weight: 5.59 g
CONDITION	There are small chips on the lower edge below the god and the divine symbols.
PROVENANCE	Acquired from the antiquarian Edgar Beer (Brussels), 01–03–1948.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.



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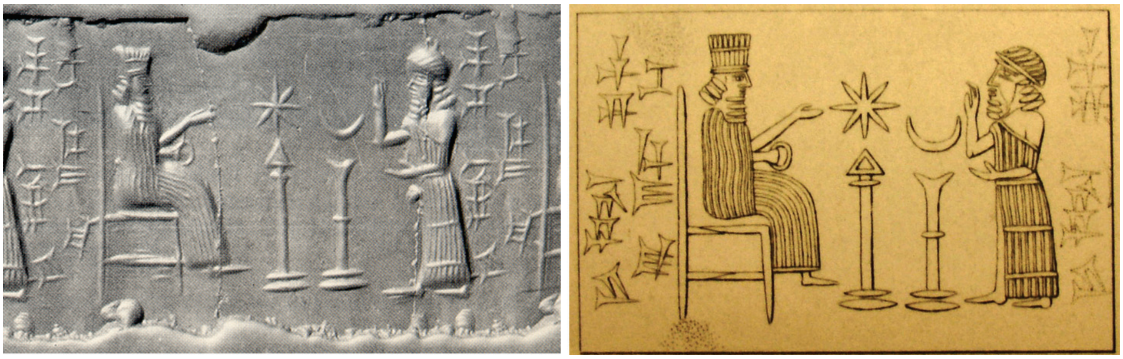
[487] U.S.N.M. 207956 (United States National Museum, "from Hillah, Mesopotamia"): Casanowicz 1926, 11 no. 1 ("quartzite onyx") and pl. 4.

[488] U.S.N.M. 207940 (United States National Museum, "from Hillah, Mesopotamia"): Casanowicz 1926, 11 no. 2 ("porphyry") and pl. 4.

[489] For this topic see footnote 43.

This cultic scene represents a sitting god and a worshipper in front of him. Between them are situated a spade (symbol of Marduk) and a stylus (symbol of Nabû), as well as an eight-pointed star with grooved rays and a crescent moon above them, respectively. The scene is a modern copy of a cylinder seal (fig. 23)[490] *acquired in Borsippa in 1812 by Claudius James Rich, who donated it to Erzherzog Johann, who housed it in the Steiermärkisches Landesmuseum Joanneum (Universalmuseum Joanneum) in Graz. The main composition of this seal, that is, the two figures and the divine symbols, without the inscription, were copied and placed in the same position on the present seal. With regards to the Graz seal, first published by Claudius James Rich in 1813,*[491] *there are several publications, collected by E. Bleibtreu in her catalogues (1979 and 1981).*



A B

Fig. 23 (A–B): Seal impression of the cylinder seal ("Chalzedon", height: 32.2 mm, diameter: circa 15 mm) kept in the Steiermärkisches Landesmuseum Joanneum: (A) (based on Bleibtreu 1981, 85–86 no. 104) and its illustration (B) (based on Lajard 1847, 9 and pl. XXXIV: 10) (see footnote 490).

The present cylinder seal was acquired from the antiquarian Edgar Beer (Brussels) in 1948; among the available documentation there is unfortunately no further information about its acquisition. When comparing the scenes on the two seals, we see that except for the engraved inscription, all of the figures and details of the present seal are attested in the same position as on the Graz seal. However, in certain respects, the shaping and the modelled and engraved details show other characteristics: the broadened silhouettes of the two figures, depicted with bigger and slightly angular heads, as well as the symbols, which also reflect this large, stout appearance. Moreover, on the present seal the triangular upper part of the spade is shaped with three lines, and the line of the crescent moon is not formed with narrow lines like that on the Graz seal. In this respect, we should note the form of the eight-pointed star with grooved rays here, since the rays on the Graz seal are engraved with single lines while this star's rays are treated with triangular shapes and two lines meeting at the star's centre.

Despite these differences, the falsity of the present object and the use of the Graz seal as a model for its making are beyond doubt, so the only question arising is what direct source was used to make the present seal. Among the documentation (photos and drawings) published before 1948, F. Lajard's illustration (fig. 23: B) in his famous book of 1847 appears to provide the source of the present seal image. This illustration was made after the impression of the Graz seal; however, interestingly, the above-mentioned characteristics and its stylistic details are identical with those of the present seal. In the illustration of 1847, a wrongly interpreted detail of the worshipper is the key element that helps make it evident that the present seal was made after it.

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[490] Steiermärkisches Landesmuseum Joanneum (from Borsippa): BLEIBTREU 1976, 122–123 no. 7; BLEIBTREU 1981, 85–86 no. 104 ("Chalzedon", height: 32.2 mm, diameter: *circa* 15 mm).

[491] RICH 1813, 199–200 and fig. 7 (opp. p. 199).

On the Graz seal (fig. 23: A) the worshipper is dressed in a long striped robe with a narrow scratch running along the front of it. However, in the illustration of 1847 (fig. 23: B), the leg of the worshipper is depicted in this questionable space in place of the scratch, whose straight shape runs vertically from the belt to the hem of the robe. This wrongly interpreted leg position, which is unattested in the Neo-Babylonian iconography, was copied onto the present seal after that illustration.

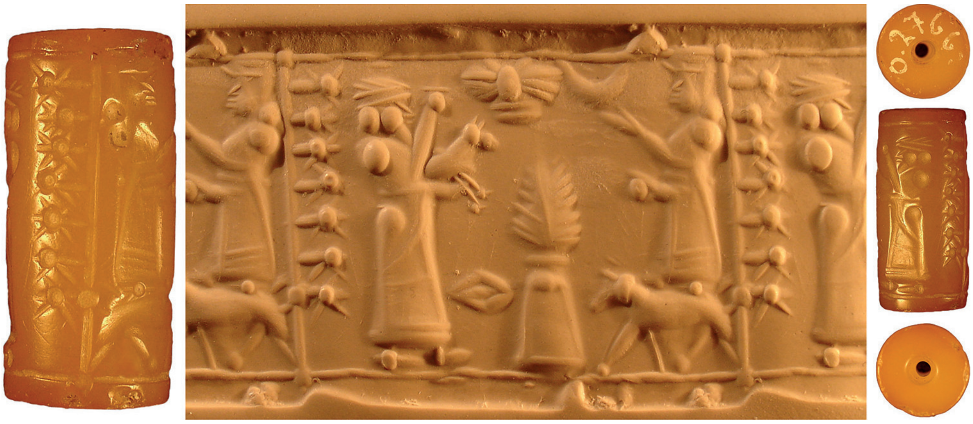
78

MODERN (I.E., FAKE) CYLINDER SEAL

OFFERING SCENE

Worshipper with an animal in front of a goddess

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2766
MATERIAL	
DIMENSIONS	height: 26.6 mm, diameter: 12.2 mm, weight: 7.26 g
CONDITION	There are faults outside the borderlines.
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection, 11–10–1958.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.



This offering scene, depicted between two borderlines at the top and bottom, represents a worshipper in front of a goddess, who is probably Gula. The bearded worshipper holds an animal in his left hand. The goddess is standing on the back of a quadruped, seemingly a dog, depicted in walking position, and there is a cultic niche decorated with seven stars behind her. Between the two figures, there is an incense burner (or brazier). A winged sun-disc and a crescent moon are depicted in the sky, and a rhomb appears between the worshipper and the incense burner.

The offering scene provides a few enigmas due to the choice and the detailing of the figures. As for the divine figure, we can conclude that this goddess seems to be Gula. The dog and the cultic niche are her attributes here. However, it is interesting to note the unsuccessful attempts in shaping of her upraised hand depicted in greeting position while the other hand, positioned, unusually, slightly below her waist appears in grasped position though she does not hold the leash by which she usually holds her mounted dog. The walking position of the dog, depicted with an unfamiliar stubby tail, differs from the examples when it appears with Gula, who is sitting or standing in her cultic niche.[492] The worshipper, who seems to follow the devotional pose (*ubāna tarāṣu*), is more unusual because of the offering, seemingly a quadruped, which lies on his left lower arm, whose ears are marked by single strokes. Animal offerings represented in a similar manner are well known in second millennium B.C. glyptics; however, they do not appear among the offering scenes dated to the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods. Regarding the two animals on the present seal image, we have to conclude that there is no significant difference between them, which also justifies the doubts regarding the authenticity of the seal. Besides the boldly executed astral symbols, the trapezoidal base of the incense burner and the shaping of the incense also provide unique iconographical execution; neither its treatment nor the combination of this kind of vessel and the incense can be attested on other seal images.

Regarding the style and the use of tools, we may recognise the similarities between the present seal and the cylinder seal originating from the Hutchinson Collection.[493] This latter seal depicts a worshipper in front of the standing figure of Gula, and there is a stylised tree surmounted by the winged sun-disc. Based on the poor quality of its published photo, it is difficult to study the detailing of the Hutchinson seal and prove its direct connection with the present seal. Nevertheless, the Hutchinson seal also provides unusual features (e.g. the combination of a cultic scene with a ritual scene). In sum, the present seal can be considered modern, that is, a fake specimen which seems to be a copy of an offering scene with the addition of some inappropriate details. Moreover, the low technical competence of its seal-cutter(s) has resulted in a low-quality appearance compared to similar scenes.

79

MODERN (I.E., FAKE) CYLINDER SEAL

CULTIC SCENE

Worshipper in front of two gods

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.2802	Plate 18.
MATERIAL		
DIMENSIONS	height: 31.1 mm, diameter: 12.5 mm, weight: 9.27 g	
CONDITION	A fault partly obscures the worshipper's extended leg.	
PROVENANCE	Formerly in the Moussa Collection, 11–10–1958.	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.	

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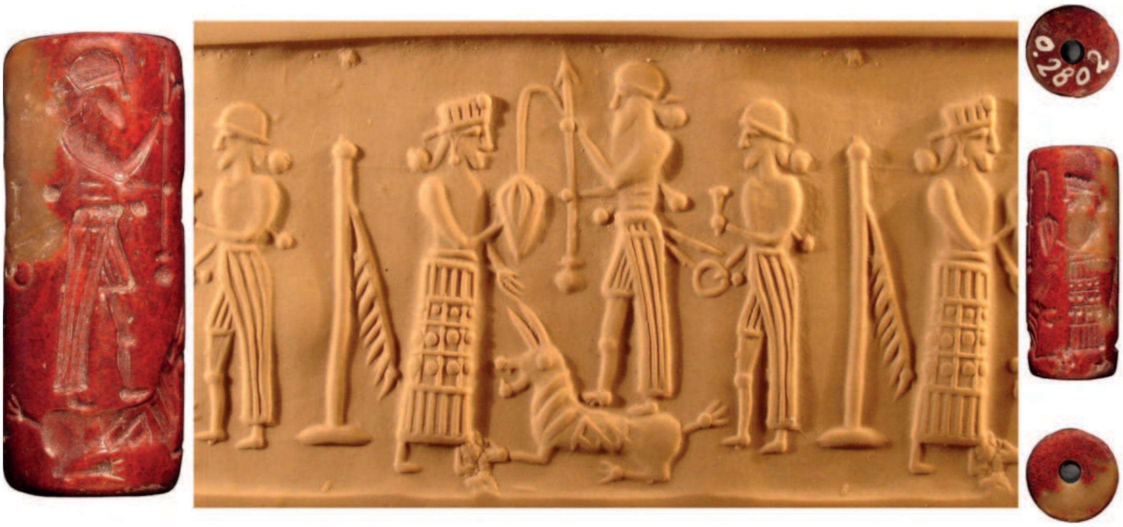
[492] For the iconography of Gula, see COLLON 1994; ORNAN 2004.

[493] RWH 26 (Liverpool University, formerly kept in the collection of R. W. Hutchinson): DALLEY 1972, 129 no. 28 ("semi-translucent pink-orange chalcedony", height: 25.5 mm, diameter: 11.5 mm) and pl. LI. The objects bequeathed to R. W. Hutchinson were collected by Olga Petrovna, Baroness de Maydell, who "had bought them from various dealers both in the Middle East and in Europe, probably all between the two World Wars" (DALLEY 1972, 125).



The iconography of this modern seal reflects the eclectic choice of a seal-cutter who imitated the traditional cultic scene by collecting and freely using different figures and motifs. The seal image therefore seems to be a non-coherent miscellany of borrowed and haphazardly distributed elements. Moreover, a general lack of competence in the use of the tools characterises this depiction. Identifying these false elements is our only remaining task in the following notes, which might be a revealing analysis of this modern seal image.

In shaping the worshipper's long robe, the seal-cutter(s) followed a coffered pattern of concentric squares.[494] Rather than being in the devotional pose, this worshipper is depicted with lowered left hand, while in his right hand he seemingly holds a low-quality copy of the beak-spouted vessel which appears on Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian seals (see *e.g.* **12**).[495] The present vessel has a turned pear-shaped form and an upright line terminating in a curving line which emerges from its upper end. In front of the worshipper, the first divine figure stands on a crouching hybrid creature depicted with donkey ears and bird talons; the second divine figure holds a ring and seemingly a stylus, the main attribute of Nabû. Instead of one line designating the sheath at the waist of the first divine figure, there are two oblique lines. The two drill-holes at the height of both figures' waist constitute the most evident misinterpretation, since these would indicate the lower ends of the crossed quivers on their shoulders; however, the seal-cutter did not shape the quivers themselves nor their upper ends.

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[494] For the appearance and the date of this textile pattern, see Niederreiter 2018, 76–78; for one of its examples, framed by upper and lower fringes:
– Del. 358 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, given by the duc de Luynes in 1862): Delaporte 1910, 201–202 no. 358 ("agate", height: 36 mm, diameter: 16 mm) and pl. XXIV.

[495] See for example:
– present location unknown (Scheil 1897, 52 no. 2 and pl. XXVI; Scheil 1915, 59 no. C; Niederreiter 2015, 147 no. C);
– Sa 206 (Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin; from Samos): Diehl 1965, 825–826 no. 89 ("Chalcedon", height: 40 mm, diameter: 16.5 mm) figs. 1 and 2.

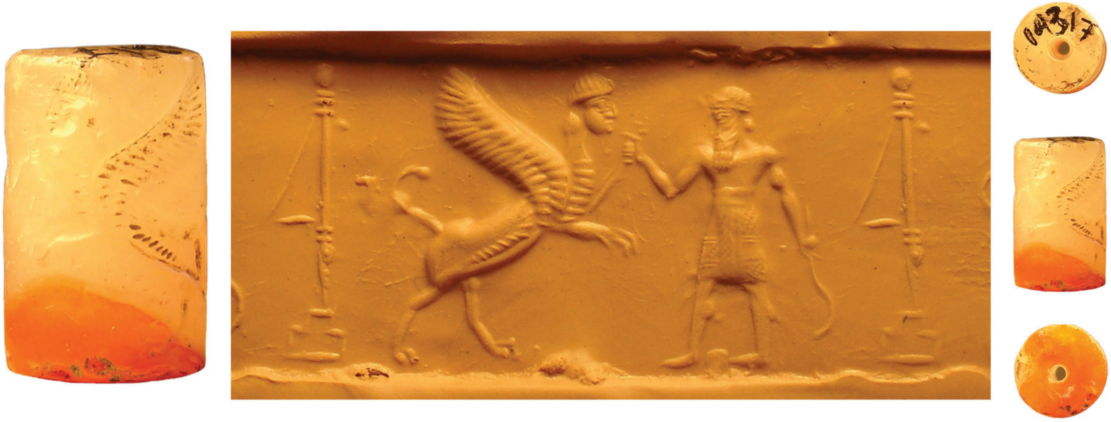

Fig. 24: CBS 14317 cylinder seal ("sardonyx", height: 18.4 mm, diameter: 11.2 mm, with convex ends) and its modern impression (see footnote 496).

On the seal image, there is a distinctive object grasped by both the first divine figure's hands, and another unique object appears behind the second divine figure. A cylinder seal kept in the PennMuseum, with a description by L. Legrain, allows us to identify these objects. On the CBS 14317 seal (fig. 24),[496] depicting a contest scene, there is, according to Legrain's description, behind the figures "… a curious emblem like a lance point down on a two tiered base. The butt end has a round knob with a streamer. The point seems to taper into an animal's head with rings above and below. Scepters of that form with round knobs and handles tapering into animals' heads are represented on a boundary stone of Nabuchadnezzar I, about B.C. 1125 discovered at Nippur." (Legrain 1925, 306 no. 604). On the seal image studied here, the two questionable objects seemingly show the characteristics of the symbol depicted on CBS 14317 (fig. 24). The object, a standard,[497] is grasped by both of the first divine figure's hands and is depicted in upturned position with a "round knob" at the lower end, while its upper part terminates in an exaggerated, sharp end. The standard behind the figures on the present seal consists of a long shaft whose butt is fixed into a base and which ends in a hole at the top. A streamer extends downward and right from it, decorated with hanging, serrated engraved lines arranged in a row. Although we are not able to prove that the cited example constitutes the model for the present two objects and that the seal-cutter followed Legrain's description, we may assume that a similar divine symbol placed on a podium provided a model for these objects on the present seal.

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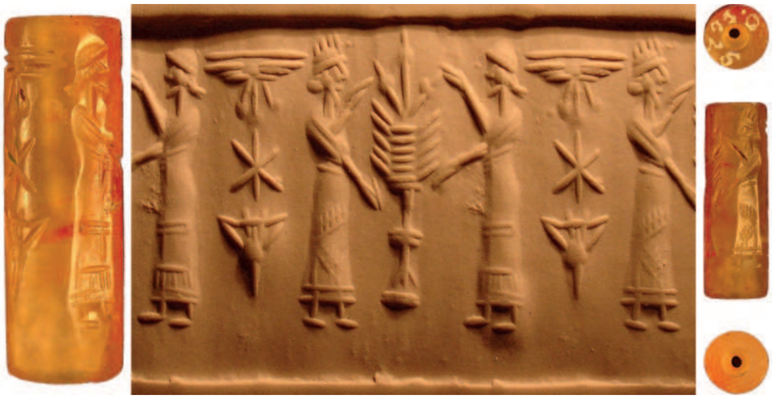
[496] CBS 14317 (University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology; from Nippur, 1894$^{?}$): Legrain 1925, 306 no. 604 and pl. XXXI ("sardonyx", height: 18.4 mm, diameter: 11.2 mm, slightly convex – studied directly in May 2016 by the author). I am very grateful to Katherine Blanchard (The Fowler/Van Santvoord Keeper of the Near Eastern Collections), who allowed me to study the cylinder seal and publish the present photographs, taken by me.

[497] For similar objects see Sauren 1979, 12.

80

MODERN (I.E., FAKE) CYLINDER SEAL
RITUAL SCENE
Two worshippers flanking a stylised tree

MUSEUM NUMBER	O.4625
MATERIAL	"opaque"
DIMENSIONS	height: 25.7 mm, diameter: 8.6 mm, weight: 3.13 g
CONDITION	Aside from a small abrasion below the right-hand figure's lowered hand, the entire surface is smooth and glossy.
PROVENANCE	Formerly in a Düsseldorf collection (said to be from "Turkey, Anatolia"), 26–03–1991.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	Unpublished.



This ritual scene represents two worshippers flanking a stylised tree, with three motifs arranged in a vertical row behind them. The theme is well known; however, the nature of the figures' arrangement and execution makes it evident that this seal is modern, that is, fake. The seal-cutter(s) ignored and misinterpreted numerous iconographical conventions which characterise the ritual scenes. Among them, the following description lists only the most conspicuous details and anomalies.

It is evident that this item is longish compared to the usual seal parameters, which results in a very tall field and a scene that seems to be compressed, with elongated figures. Moreover, the lowest zone of the field does not depict anything. Against this stylistic background, the two worshippers are characterised by boldly shaped silhouettes and engraved lines (mainly upright ones appear to be preferred). It is interesting to note the unsuccessful attempts at shaping of the left-hand figure's headdress, which resembles a feathered crown, and also that the lower fringe on his long robe is depicted in an inverse direction compared to the usual pattern. The treatment of the stylised tree also raises many questions, and it cannot be considered genuine. The foliage consists of closely set, striped engraved lines arranged in three rows; the lateral ones are oblique while the middle lines are horizontal, an arrangement without parallel in the seal corpus. The three branches which crown the foliage are also unattested elsewhere.[498] Behind the two worshippers there are three motifs situated in a vertical row. The uppermost is a winged sun-disc (peculiarly awkward regarding its shaping), followed by a six-pointed star with the expected horizontal rays not indicated, and finally, the unusual lowermost motif looks like a vessel with two handles, or might rather be a flying creature, that is, the lion-headed eagle (Imdugud), depicted in frontal view. In sum, we have to remark that these figures are differently shaped in the ancient iconography and awkward in the rendering of the present figure; it is difficult in some cases to be sure what the seal-cutter(s) intended to shape.

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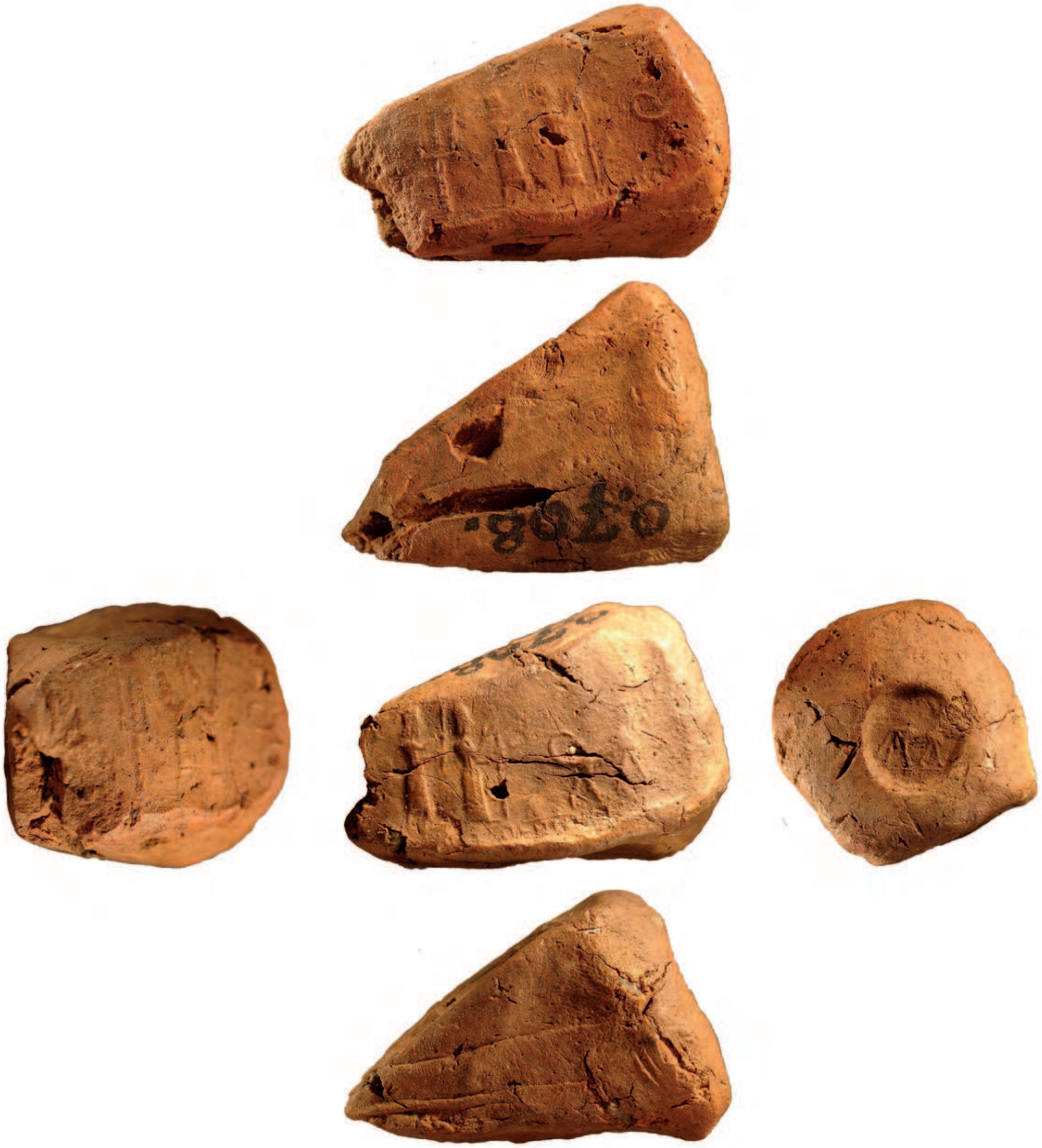
[498] These branches usually constitute the lateral elements of stylised trees (**74**), and they are shaped by the combination of straight engraving and a midsized drill-hole towards the end, followed by a stroke.

Appendix

Urartian clay bulla with inscribed cylinder seal and Stamp seal impressions

Cultic scene

museum number	IR.34 – O.708
provenance	No documentation in the museum archive about the circumstances of the object acquired at latest in 1915.
bibliography	Speleers 1917, 221–222 no. 708; Zimmern 1918–19, 52; Speleers 1923a, pl. X: 708; Speleers 1923c, pl. III: 708; Seidl 1979, pl. 32: 5.



Inscription	above	*i-ni* KIŠIB $^{\text{m}}$*Ru-sa-a-*	Seal of Rusa (II),
	below	$^{\text{m}}$*Ar-giš-te-ḫi-ni-i*	son of Argišti (II).

This triangular clay object, acquired in 1915 at the latest, was formed around a string for which the two holes are clearly visible on its tapering side, while its opposite side bears the impression of a stamp seal. There are two impressions of a cylinder seal on the lateral sides opposite one another. The stamp seal depicts a striding bull facing right. The figures on the cylinder seal are facing right also. In front of a large trident-shaped object, there are a lion passant, the Urartian king and his attendant with a parasol.[499] A two-line inscription appears above and below this scene. Regarding this object type with the same sealings, well-known in the research, we can only mention an interesting Urartian cylinder seal, kept formerly in the Bailey Collection,[500] on which a detailed example of a trident-shaped object is depicted with a lion-dragon.

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[499] It is probable that the figures are oriented toward the large trident-shaped object. For similar objects with these seal impressions, see recently Seidl 2001; Payne 2005, 369; Hellwag 2012; Salvini 2012, 209–210.

[500] Drouot (Paris) 16–12–1992, 16–17 no. 70 (“pierre jaune”, height: 23 mm, diameter: 10 mm).

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Lists of related seals in the catalogue

1. List of the cited cylinder seals with provenance

The following list consists of those provenanced cylinder seals which are mentioned in relation to the eighty objects studied in this catalogue. The list does not provide those cylinder seals whose provenance is merely alleged ("said to be from") or for which only the place of acquisition is known. The cited seals are presented here according to their provenance and introduced by registration number. Furthermore, we give the *editio princeps* and/or the primary bibliographical references for each of them. Beside the cylinder seals, we present here the provenanced sealings and stamp seals cited in the catalogue.

Al-Hajjar, site 2 (Bahrein)
(**40**) Beyer 1989, 160 no. 300; Potts 2010, 33 no. 85 and fig. 12: 85

Al-Qādisīyah (Salvage Dam on the Euphrates, north of Haditha, Iraq)
(**1**) Al-Huri 1979/81, 24 no. 26

Alişar Hüyük
(**20**) (e 1193): von der Osten 1937, 419 fig. 479, 420 and 423 no. e 1193

Assur
(**4**) (Ass 21327): Moortgat 1940, 147 no. 698 and pl. 82
(**4**) (Ass 14716): Moortgat 1940, 148 no. 699 and pl. 83
(**4**) (VA 4252): Moortgat 1940, 148 no. 700 and pl. 83
(**4**) (Ass 6139): Moortgat 1940, 148 no. 705 and pl. 83
(**13**) (Ass 9451): Moortgat 1940, 139 no. 595 and pl. 71
(**15**) (Ass 9451): Moortgat 1940, 139 no. 595 and pl. 71
(**18**) (Ass 10479): Moortgat 1940, 144 650 and pl. 77
(**19**) (Ass 9676): Moortgat 1940, 143 642 and pl. 76
(**19**) (Ass 18902): Moortgat 1940, 143 647 and pl. 77
(**19**) (Ass 11190 ai): Moortgat 1940, 143 639 and pl. 76
(**20**) (Ass 14360): Klengel-Brandt 2014, 12 no. 47 and pl. 12: 47a–b
(**21**) (Ass 18574 b – VA 5361): Moortgat 1940, 148 no. 714 and pl. 84; Klengel-Brandt 2014, 83 no. 269 and pl. 50
(**21**) (Ass 8779 b – VA Ass 1599): Moortgat 1940, 149 715 and pl. 84; Klengel-Brandt 2014, 83 no. 270 and pl. 51
(**21**) (Ass 10441 – VA Ass 1603): Moortgat 1940, 149 716 and pl. 84; Klengel-Brandt 2014, 83 no. 272 and pl. 51
(**21**) (Ass 21328 – VA 7984): Moortgat 1940, 149 717 and pl. 84; Klengel-Brandt 2014, 83 no. 271 and pl. 51
(**21**) (Ass 15674 – VA Ass 1622): Klengel-Brandt 2014, 12 no. 49 and pl. 13: 49a–b
(**26**) sealing (Ass 14327 and Ass 17822): Moortgat 1942, 58 no. 11; Matthews 1990, 105 footnote 192 no. 424
(**29**) (Ass 8060): Moortgat 1940, 145 no. 665 and pl. 79; Klengel-Brandt 2014, 70 no. 152 and pl. 35: 152
(**34**) (Ass 9939 – VA Ass 1701): Klengel-Brandt 2014, 5–6 no. 14 and pl. 4
(**52**) (VA 4993): Moortgat 1940, 145 671 and pl. 79
(**65**) (Ass 2307): Moortgat 1940, 140 no. 605 and pl. 72

Babylon
(**37**) (Bab. 36292 – VA 6938): Moortgat 1940, 150 no. 735 and pl. 86

Boğazköy
(**20**) (1193/e): Beran 1964, 30–31, 37 no. 3 and pl. 6: 3

Borsippa
(**77**) Bleibtreu 1976, 122–123 no. 7; Bleibtreu 1981, 85–86 no. 104
Chigha Sabz (Luristan)
(**2**) (CS 421): van Loon 1989a, 440 no. 153, 466 no. 243:153 and pl. 243: 153
(**7**) (CS 377): van Loon 1989a, 415 no. 46, 457 no. 233:46 and pl. 233
(**7**) (CS 380): van Loon 1989a, 415 no. 47, 457 no. 233:47 and pl. 233
(**73**) (CS 272): van Loon 1989a, 24, 422 no. 69, 459 no. 235:69, pls. 235 and 259: c
Chogha Mish
(**7**) Kantor 1980–82, 25 (fig.)
Girsu
(**25**) (MNB 1353): Delaporte 1920, 26 no. T. 241 and pl. 6: 28
Hasanlu
(**3**) (HAS 60-108): Marcus 1996, 118–119 no. 63, fig. 85 and pl. 63
Kalḫu
(**4**) (ND 887): Parker 1955, 105: ND.887 and pl. XVI: 3; Buchanan 1966, 112 no. 618 and pl. 41
(**4**) (BM WA 89419 – 1848–11–4, 295): Collon 2001, 44 no. 29 and pl. III
(**4**) (ND 1992.442): Hussein – Abdul-Razaq 1997/98, 171 fig. 17; Hussein – Altaweel – Gibson 2016, 52, 184 and pl. 202a
(**5**) (ND 5364): Parker 1962, 31: ND.5364 and pl. XIII: 2
(**6**) (ND 5373): Parker 1962, 33: ND.5373 and pl. XIV:3; Collon 2001, 36 no. 7 and pl. I
(**11**) (ND 1992.440): Hussein – Abdul-Razaq 1997/98, 175 fig. 48; Hussein – Altaweel – Gibson 2016, 52, 184 and pl. 201e
(**12**) (ND 5262): Parker 1962, 28: ND.5262 and pl. IX: 1
(**18**) (ND 3227): Parker 1955, 101: ND.3227 and pl. XIII: 3; Buchanan 1966, 108 no. 587 and pl. 39
(**18**) sealing (ND 2331): Parker 1955, 121: ND.2331, fig. 20 and pl. XXVII: 5
(**19**) (ND 2151): Parker 1955, 100: ND.2151 and pl. XII: 3
(**20**) (ND 1992.108): Hussein – Abdul-Razaq 1997/98, 169 fig. 3;Hussein – Altaweel – Gibson 2016, 49, 166 and pl. 192b
(**20**) (ND 88 89 [PV 54]): Collon 2015, 87–89 no. ND 88 89 (PV 54)
(**21**) (ND 1686): Parker 1955, 104: ND.1686 and pl. XV: 4
(**28**) (ND 305): Parker 1955, 97–98: ND.305 and pl. XI: 1; Collon 2001, 109–111, pls. XVI and XXXIX
(**30**) (ND 6027): Parker 1962, 33: ND.6027 and pl. XVI: 2
(**30**) (ND 3226): Parker 1955, 101: ND.3226 and pl. XIII: 1; Buchanan 1966, 107 no. 574 and pl. 39
(**39**) stamp seal in form of recumbent bull (ND 1988.25): Hussein – Suleiman 2000, xx fig. 13; Hussein – Altaweel – Gibson 2016, 6, 62 and pl. 13: d
(**39**) (ND 1992.14): Hussein – Abdul-Razaq 1997/98, 175 fig. 41; Hussein – Altaweel – Gibson 2016, 50, 165 and pl. 192: e
(**44**) (ND 6028): Parker 1962, 33: ND.6028 and pl. XVI: 1
(**51**) (ND 6083): Parker 1962, 35: ND.6083 and pl. XVII: 9
(**60**) (ND 6086): Parker 1962, 33: ND.6086 and pl. XVI: 1
(**64**) (ND 1992.180): Hussein – Abdul-Razaq 1997/98, 174 and fig. 37; Hussein – Altaweel – Gibson 2016, 49, 168 and pl. 190b
(**65**) sealing (ND 5486): Parker 1962, 31: ND.5486 and pl. XII: 4
(**65**) sealing (ND 231): Parker 1955, 110: ND 231 and pl. XX: 2
Khorsabad
(**11**) (N 3356 – N III 732): Delaporte 1920, 86 no. 3 (K.2) and pl. 57
(**11**) (N 3355 – N III 731): Delaporte 1920, 86 no. 8 (K.3) and pl. 57
(**21**) (DS 580): Loud – Altman 1938, 98 no. 94 and pl. 58: 9
Kish
(**21**) (V654): Buchanan 1966, 113 no. 623 and pl. 41
Marlik Tepe
(**5**) (1095 M [2381]): Negahban 1977, 91–92 no. 7, fig. 7 and 102
Nineveh
(**49**) (1855–12–5, 451 – BM WA 89438): Collon 2001, 67 no. 104 and pl. IX

(**64**) fragment of potsherd with seal impression (XII,B,11): Campbell Thompson – Hutchinson 1929, pl. LVII: 340

Nippur

(**8**) (CBS 8915): Legrain 1925, 307 no. 608 and pl. XXXI

(**26**) sealing (CBM 3135): Porada 1952, pl. XXIX: 3; Matthews 1992, 121–122 no. 161

(**79**) (CBS 14317): Legrain 1925, 306 no. 604 and pl. XXXI

Persepolis

(**2**) sealing (PFS 93*): Amiet 1973a, 15, 29 no. 28 and pl. VI; Garrison 2011, 376–378 figs. 1–12

(**2**) sealing (PFS 51 on PF 736): Garrison 1991, 4–5 figs. 3–4

(**73**) sealing (PFS 12a on PF 1998): Amiet 1973a, 29 no. 26 and pl. VI; Garrison 2000, pl. XXI: 16.

(**73**) sealing (PFS 706* on PF 1186): Garrison 2000, 145–146 fig. 23 and pl. XXV: 23

Samos

(**79**) (Sa 206): Diehl 1965, 825–826 no. 89, figs. 1 and 2

Sanandaj (“Zagros graveyard”)

(**4**) Amelirad – Overlaet – Haerinck 2012, 55–56 no. 1 and 81: pl. 22: 1

(**21**) Amelirad – Overlaet – Haerinck 2012, 55 no. 5 and 81: pl. 22: 5

“Saudi Arabia – Salt Mine Site”

(**25**) Lombard 1988, 126 fig. 8 and 127; Potts 2010, 33 no. 86 (fig. 12) and 36

Sherif-Khan

(**21**) (BM WA 139986 – 1856–9–3, 91): Collon 2001, 57–58 no. 92 and pl. VII

Sultantepe

(**21**): Lloyd 1954, 108 fig. 8: 2 and 110 no. 8: 2

Surkh Dum-i-Luri

(**2**) (Sor 862): van Loon 1989a, 440 no. 152, 466 no. 243:152 and pl. 243

(**3**) (Sor 1162): van Loon 1989a, 437–438 no. 142, 465 no. 242:142 and pl. 242

(**5**) (Sor 1625): van Loon 1989a, 415 no. 45, 457 no. 233:45 and pl. 233

(**21**) (Sor 1353): van Loon 1989a, 416 no. 51, 457 no. 233:51 and pl. 233

(**27**) (Sor 1088a): van Loon 1989b, 326, 345: 213a and pl. 213: a

Susa

(**2**) (AS 9142) Delaporte 1920, 65 no. S. 555 and pl. 48: 7

(**2**) sealing: Scheil 1911 = MDP 11, 98–99 no. 306; Amiet 1973a, 28 no. 22 and pl. V

(**2**) (Sb 6282 – K 424): Amiet 1972, 282 no. 2188 and pl. 188

(**7**) (AOD 125): Delaporte 1920, 79 no. D.143 and pl. 52: 19

(**7**) (Sb 1477): Amiet 1972, 275, 282 no. 2186 and pl. 188: 2186

(**7**) (Sb 6249 [H 412]): Amiet 1972, 282 no. 2187 and pl. 188: 2187

(**7**) sealing (S.556 – AS 9142 [305]): Delaporte 1920, 65 no. S. 556 and pl. 48: 9 (S.556); Amiet 1973a, 28 no. 21 and pl. V

(**25**) (Sb 6113 [E 671]): Amiet 1972, 274, 280 no. 2169 and pl. 187

(**73**) (Sb 6873): Amiet 1972, 282 no. 2185 and pl. 188

Tall Arbid

(**18**) (ARB’97 A29/19/40c-1): Koliński – Reiche 2008, 53 and 59 fig. 3

Tall Duwair

(**21**) (365): Parker 1949, 6 no. 4 and pl. I

Tall Masaïkh

(**26**) (K12 311): Poli 2015, 291–294 figs. 2 and 3

Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad

(**20**) (SH97/6951/0033): Fügert 2015, 145 no. 156

(**20**) (SH88/8979/0103): Fügert 2015, 147 no. 158

(**21**) (SH 06/6153/0140): Fügert 2015, 149 no. 160

(**21**) (SH 04/6151/0603): Fügert 2015, 150 no. 161

(**65**) (SH 03/5953/0208): Kühne – Radner 2008, 26–44 fig. 1–7

(**66**) sealings: Fügert 2015, 19–20 no. 16

(**69**) (SH 84/0000/0001 – 4466): Bonatz – Kühne – Mahmoud 1998, 123 no. 115; Fügert 2015, vol. 2: 17–18 no. 14 and 462: 14

Tell Kesaran (Jebel Hamrin region)

(**27**) (HK-35/2): Boehmer 1985, 20–21 no. 25 and fig. 36

Tell Sabi Abyad

(**8**) (Z03-23): © Tell Sabi Abyad project

Tell Gemmeh [Gerar]

(**72**) (CR 198 – J 988): Petrie 1928, 10–11 no. 50 and pl. XIX: 29; Parker 1949, 7 no. 7 and pl. I

Tell Halaf

(**10**) (TH06C-0069): Elsen-Novák 2009, 67 fig. 6-2,3 and 68.

(**16**) (VA 12843): Moortgat 1940, 144 no. 648 and pl. 77; von Oppenheim – Hrouda 1962, 35 no. 38 and pl. 25

(**16**) (BM WA 138127 – 1920–12–11, 433): von Oppenheim – Hrouda 1962, 35 no. 40 and pl. 26; Collon 2001, 54–55 no. 78 and pl. VI

(**20**) (BM WA 138128 – 1920–12–11, 434): von Oppenheim – Hrouda 1962, 36 no. 47; Collon 2001, 57 no. 88 and pl. VII

(**21**) (VA 12849): Moortgat 1940, 149 no. 719 and pl. 84; von Oppenheim – Hrouda 1962, 31, 36 no. 45 and pl. 26: 45

(**21**) (VA 12848): Moortgat 1940, 149 no. 718 and pl. 84; von Oppenheim – Hrouda 1962, 31, 36 no. 44 and pl. 26

(**40**) Orientalisches Seminar der Universität Köln: von Oppenheim – Hrouda 1962, 35 no. 36 and pl. 25: 36

Tepe Chenchi (near Khorsabad)

(**18**) (TS 41): Algaze 1989, 8–9 and pl. 4: b

Tepe Guran (Luristan)

(**20**) (G II D7, pithos sherd with seal impression): Thrane 2001, 87–88 fig. 74

Ur

(**1**) (U. 16656): Legrain 1951, 42 no. 595 and pl. 35

(**9**) (U. 16630): Legrain 1951, 43 no. 614 and pl. 36

(**33**) (U.1487): Woolley 1965, 96: U.1487 and pl. 35

(**40**) (U. 18240): Legrain 1951, 43 no. 610 and pl. 36

Uruk

(**24**) (W 21937): Lenzen 1974, 35: W 21937 and pl. 23: f

(**33**) (W 21937): Lenzen 1974, 35: W 21937 and pl. 23: f

War Kabud

(**21**) (A102-14, inv. nr. WK 66/190): Haerinck – Overlaet 2004, 78–79 fig. 38: A102-14, pls. 42: 12 and 151: A102-14

Ziwiye

(**20**) (NMI 13149): Ascalone – Baseri 2014 [2016], 36–37 fig. 6

2. List of the cited cylinder seals kept in museums and private collections

The following list consists of those cylinder seals which are mentioned in relation to the eighty objects studied in the catalogue, presented here according to the museum or private collection in which they are kept. For the sake of completeness, we collected here those objects with provenance of which the present location is unknown to the author. These objects are ordered according to their origin (page xx). Finally, those seals are mentioned (see 3.1.3) which have been published in auction catalogues and their previous and present locations are unknown. The cylinder seals are introduced by the number of the associated object studied in this catalogue, then we give their museum number and the *editio princeps* and/or primary bibliographical references about them. Beside the cylinder seals, we present here the provenanced sealings and stamp seals, cited in the catalogue, with the primary bibliographical references about them.

Adana Arkeoloji Müzesi

(**11**) (112): Tunca 1979, 23 no. 103 and pl. XI

(**18**) (694): Tunca 1979, 21 no. 82 and pl. IX

(**20**) (754): Tunca 1979, 21 no. 83 and pl. IX

(**26**) (457): Tunca 1979, 21 no. 85 and pl. IX

(**37**) (1132): Tunca 1979, 22 no. 98 and pl. XI

(**46**) (631): Tunca 1979, 23 no. 104 and pl. XI

(**52**) (211): Tunca 1979, 19 no. 69 and pl. VIII

(**53**) (1286): Tunca 1979, 19 no. 70 and pl. VIII

(**56**) (547): Tunca 1979, 17 no. 61 and pl. VII

Allard Pierson Museum

(**2**) Kist 2003, 199 no. 374

(**3**) Kist 2003, 181 no. 338

(**31**) Kist 2003, 181 no. 337

(**52**) Kist 2003, 188 no. 352

Anavian Collection (Habib Anavian)
(**7**) Volk 1979, no. 183
(**20**) Volk 1979, no. 195
(**20**) Volk 1979, no. 196
(**24**) Volk 1979, no. 220
(**34**) Volk 1979, no. 226
(**44**) Volk 1979, no. 225
(**58**) Volk 1979, no. 210
(**60**) Volk 1979, no. 210
(**73**) Volk 1979, no. 169

Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin
(**79**) (Sa 206): Diehl 1965, 825–826 no. 89, figs. 1 and 2

Archäologischen Museum der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster
(**66**) (3653): Neumann 2016, 105 no. 111 and 210

Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology
(**4**) (Ash. 1951.46 – ND 887): Parker 1955, 105: ND.887 and pl. XVI: 3; Buchanan 1966, 112 no. 618 and pl. 41
(**12**) (Ash. 1974.362): Moorey – Gurney 1978, 52 no. 46 and pl. VII
(**18**) (Ash. 1954.741 – ND 3227): Parker 1955, 101: ND.3227 and pl. XIII: 3; Buchanan 1966, 108 no. 587 and pl. 39
(**18**) (Ash. 1921.950): Buchanan 1966, 108 no. 588 and pl. 39
(**20**) (Ash. 1920.36): Buchanan 1966, 112 no. 620 and pl. 41
(**21**) (Ash. 1929.253 – V654): Buchanan 1966, 113 no. 623 and pl. 41
(**29**) (Ash. 1969.356): Moorey – Gurney 1978, 51 no. 42 and pl. VII
(**30**) (Ash. 1954.742 – ND 3226): Parker 1955, 101: ND.3226 and pl. XIII: 1; Buchanan 1966, 107 no. 574 and pl. 39
(**30**) (Liddon Collection 41): Buchanan 1966, 109 no. 591 and pl. 39
(**46**) (Ash. 1954.177): Buchanan 1966, 116 no. 649 and pl. 42
(**50**) (Ash. 1913.77): Buchanan 1966, 110 no. 599 and pl. 40
(**53**) (Ash. 1913.77): Buchanan 1966, 110 no. 599 and pl. 40
(**54**) (Ash. 1920.49): Buchanan 1966, 109 no. 593 and pl. 39
(**56**) (Ash. 1920.49): Buchanan 1966, 109 no. 593 and pl. 39
(**57**) (Ash. 1889.373): Buchanan 1966, 115 no. 635 and pl. 42
(**65**) (Ash. 1913.144): Buchanan 1966, 110 no. 603 and pl. 40
(**67**) (Ash. 1892.1419): Buchanan 1966, 114 no. 632, 229 and pl. 41
(**68**) (Ash. 1909.1153): Buchanan 1966, 117 no. 650 and pl. 42

Bahrain National Museum
(**40**) Beyer 1989, 160 no. 300; Potts 2010, 33 no. 85 and fig. 12: 85

Bailey Collection (Virginia E. Bailey)
(**7**) Drouot (Paris) 16–12–1992, 16–17 no. 87
(**9**) Drouot (Paris) 16–12–1992, 16–17 no. 78
(**17**) Drouot (Paris) 16–12–1992, 16–17 no. 80
(**18**) Drouot (Paris) 16–12–1992, 16–17 no. 64
(**47**) Drouot (Paris) 16–12–1992, 16–17 no. 77
(**Appendix**) Drouot (Paris) 16–12–1992, 16–17 no. 70

Bibel+Orient Museum, Sammlung der Universität Fribourg
(**1**) (VR 1992.7): Cieslak 1992 [6–11/05/1992] 19 no. 122 and pl. 9; Keel-Leu – Teissier 2004, 208 no. 227 and 447 (pl.)
(**1**) (VR 1981.122): Keel-Leu – Teissier 2004, 145–146 no. 149 and 437 (pl.)
(**2**) (VR 1981.208): Keel-Leu – Teissier 2004, 224 no. 249 and 450 (pl.)
(**16**) (VR 1981.123): Keel-Leu – Teissier 2004, 145 no. 148 and 436 (pl.)
(**18**) (VR 1991.63): Keel-Leu – Teissier 2004, 182–183 no. 187 and 442 (pl.)
(**25**) (VR 1981.125): Keel-Leu – Teissier 2004, 146 no. 151 and 437 (pl.)
(**33**) (VR 1981.119): Keel-Leu – Teissier 2004, 143–144 no. 145 and 436 (pl.)
(**39**) (VR 1992.9): Keel-Leu – Teissier 2004, 169–170 no. 159 and 438 (pl.)
(**73**) (VR 1981.213): Keel-Leu – Teissier 2004, 225–226 no. 252, 369 and 450 (pl.)

Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem
(**2**) Williams-Forte 1981b, 192 no. 156
(**11**) Williams-Forte 1981a, 145 no. 107

(**40**) Williams-Forte 1981a, 144 no. 105

(**73**) (BLMJ Seal 494): Oshima 2004, 71 no. 24

Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques)

(**2**) (Del. 404): Delaporte 1910, 225 no. 404 and pl. XXVIII

(**3**) (Del. 326): Delaporte 1910, 181–182 no. 326 and pl. XXII

(**13**) (Del. 313): Delaporte 1910, 175–176 no. 313 and pl. XXI

(**22**) (Del. 382): Delaporte 1910, 213–214 no. 382 and pl. XXV

(**34**) (Del. 328): Delaporte 1910, 183–184 no. 328 and pl. XXII

(**34**) (DMMA S 244): Mecquenem 1922, 168 (fig.) and 171–172 no. 23

(**41**) (Del. 324): Delaporte 1910, 180–181 no. 324 and pl. XXII

(**41**) (Del. 382): Delaporte 1910, 213–214 no. 382 and pl. XXV

(**50**) (Del. 344): Delaporte 1910, 191 no. 344 and pl. XXIII

(**58**) (Del. 349): Delaporte 1910, 193 no. 349 and pl. XXIV

(**60**) (Del. 339): Delaporte 1910, 189 no. 339 and pl. XXIII

(**60**) (Del. 340): Delaporte 1910, 189–190 no. 340 and pl. XXIII

(**63**) (DMMA 1980.292.83): see footnote 403 in the current volume

(**71**) (Del. 358): Delaporte 1910, 201–202 no. 358 and pl. XXIV

(**79**) (Del. 358): Delaporte 1910, 201–202 no. 358 and pl. XXIV

Boche Collection

(**32**) Weber 1920, 70 no. 353: “Slg. Boche 147 Assur. I.”

Borowski Collection (Dr. Elie Borowski); for the present location of these seals, see Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem

Brett Collection (Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett)

(**16**) von der Osten 1936, 18 no. 124 and pl. XI

(**25**) von der Osten 1936, 18 no. 124 and pl. XI

(**60**) von der Osten 1936, 18 no. 121 and pl. XI

British Museum

(**2**) (BM WA 103013 – 1905–5–10, 8): Merrillees 2005, 47 no. 3 and pl. XXVI

(**2**) (BM WA 138159 – N 1105): Merrillees 2005, 47 no. 2 and pl. II

(**2**) (BM WA 89009 – 1841–7–26, 124): Merrillees 2005, 48 no. 4 and pl. 2

(**2**) (BM WA 104844 – 1912–7–6, 108): Merrillees 2005, 48 no. 5 and pl. III

(**3**) (BM WA 89576 – N 1067): Collon 2001, 42 no. 18 and pl. II

(**4**) (BM WA 89419 – 1848–11–4, 295): Collon 2001, 44 no. 29 and pl. III

(**6**) (BM WA 140422 – 1987–1–31, 95): Parker 1962, 33: ND.5373 and pl. XIV:3; Collon 2001, 36 no. 7 and pl. I

(**11**) (BM WA 89621 – N 1121): Collon 2001, 42 no. 14 and pl. II

(**12**) (BM WA 89319 – 1856–5–2, 23): Collon 2001, 131–132 no. 247 and pls. XX and XLIII

(**13**) (BM WA 129560 – 1945–10–13, 104): Carnegie 1908, 101–102 no. Q ƴ 23 and pl. VIII: Qc 23; Collon 2001, 152 no. 292, pls. XXIV and XXXV

(**13**) (BM WA 135752 – 1972–10–28, 1): Collon 2001, 151–152 no. 291 and pl. XXIV

(**15**) (BM WA 105155 – 1913–4–14, 3): Collon 2001, 167–168 no. 324 and pl. XXVII

(**16**) (BM WA 119328 – 1928–2–11, 31): Collon 2001, 52 no. 64, pls. V and XXXIV

(**16**) (BM WA 138127 – 1920–12–11, 433): von Oppenheim – Hrouda 1962, 35 no. 40 and pl. 26; Collon 2001, 54–55 no. 78 and pl. VI

(**17**) (BM WA 129573 – 1945–10–13, 117): Carnegie 1908, 109 no. Q ƴ 36; Collon 2001, 52 no. 62, pls. V and XLIII

(**17**) (BM WA 135162 – 1969–11–1, 2): Collon 2001, 62 no. 99, pls. VIII and XLIII

(**20**) (BM WA 138128 – 1920–12–11, 434): von Oppenheim – Hrouda 1962, 36 no. 47; Collon 2001, 57 no. 88 and pl. VII

(**21**) (BM WA 139986 – 1856–9–3, 91): Collon 2001, 57–58 no. 92 and pl. VII

(**26**) (BM WA 102535 – 1908–4–11, 43): Porada (†) – Collon 2016, 124 no. MA 1 and 210: pl. 22

(**26**) (BM WA 102535 – 1908–4–11, 43): Porada (†) – Collon 2016, 124 no. no. MA 1 and 210: pl. 22
(**28**) (BM WA 130865 – 1951–2–10, 20 and ND 305): Parker 1955, 97–98: ND.305 and pl. XI: 1; Collon 2001, 109–111, pls. XVI and XXXIX
(**32**) (BM WA 119323 – 1928–2–11, 26): Collon 2001, 158 no. 299 and pl. XXV
(**36**) (BM WA 129555 – 1945–10–13, 99): Carnegie 1908, 98–99 no. Q ƴ 18; Collon 2001, 189–190 no. 386 and pl. XXXII
(**38**) (BM WA 89435 – 1853–08–22, 6): Collon 2001, 174 no. 340 and pls. XXVIII and XLII
(**40**) (BM WA 102056 – 1905–12–9, 4): Collon 2001, 158 no. 298 and pl. XXV
(**43**) (BM WA 89861 – R 183): Collon 2001, 119 no. 223 and pl. XVIII
(**43**) (BM WA 134305 – 1963,1014.1): Porada (†) – Collon 2016, 126–127 no. MA 12 and pls. 23 and 34–35
(**43**) (BM WA 141776 – 1965,0101.13): Porada (†) – Collon 2016, 130 no. MA 23 and pls. 24 and 57;
(**43**) (BM WA 141663 – 1997,0430.22): Porada (†) – Collon 2016, 131 no. MA 28 and pls. 24, 58, and 66.
(**44**) (BM WA 104867 – 1912–7–11, 15): Collon 2001, 91 no. 155 and pl. XII
(**45**) (BM WA 102566 – 1908–4–11, 74): Collon 2001, 75 no. 144 and pl. XI
(**45**) (BM WA 89482 – 1866–5–15, 2): Collon 2001, 119 no. 225 and pl. XVIII
(**45**) (BM WA 89597 – N 1099): Collon 2001, 74 no. 141 and pl. XI
(**45**) (BM WA 125807 – 1937–12–11, 88): Collon 2001, 75 no. 145 and pl. XI
(**46**) (BM WA 129575 – 1945–10–13, 119): Carnegie 1908, 110 no. Q ƴ 38; Collon 2001, 101–102 no. 184 and pl. XV
(**46**) (BM WA 89309 – N 1081): Collon 2001, 98 no. 175 and pl. XIV
(**49**) (BM WA 89438 – 1855–12–5, 451): Collon 2001, 67 no. 104 and pl. IX
(**54**) (BM WA 89590 – 1893–10–14, 52): Collon 2001, 76–78 no. 148, pls. XI and XLII.
(**56**) (BM WA 89656 – N 1213): Collon 2001, 70 no. 121 and pl. X
(**57**) (BM WA 120957 – 1929–6–3, 5): Collon 2001, 74 no. 138 and pl. XI
(**59**) (BM WA 102963 – 1854–4–1, 3): Collon 2001, 145 no. 283, pls. XXIII and XLIII
(**59**) (BM WA 89155 – 1854–4–1, 1): Collon 2001, 144–145 no. 282, pls. XXIII and XLIII
(**59**) (BM WA 89154 – 1854–4–1, 2): Collon 2001, 145–147 no. 284 and pl. XXIII
(**61**) (BM WA 134769 – 1966–2–18, 30): Collon 2001, 121 no. 230, pls. XVIII and XLII
(**62**) (BM WA 89470 – 1869–6–1, 1): Collon 2001, 76 no. 147 and pl. XI
(**64**) (BM WA 129575 – 1945–10–13, 119): Carnegie 1908, 110 no. Q ƴ 38; Collon 2001, 101–102 no. 184 and pl. XV
(**64**) (BM WA 89846 – N 1062): Collon 2001, 125 no. 238, pls. XIX, XLI and XLIII
(**64**) (BM WA 89319 – 1856–5–2, 23): Collon 2001, 131–132 no. 247 and pl. XX
(**69**) (BM WA 89409 – 1846–5–23, 341): Collon 2001, 73 no. 136 and pl. XI
(**69**) (BM WA 89597 – N 1099): Collon 2001, 74 no. 141 and pl. XI
(**71**) (BM WA 89380 – 1841–7–26, 104): Collon 2001, 73 no. 137 and pl. XI
(**73**) (BM WA 132234 – 1957–10–17, 7): Merrillees 2005, 72 no. 67 and pl. XXVI
(**74**) (BM WA 119326 – 1928–2–11, 29): Collon 2001, 132 no. 249 and pl. III
(**75**) (BM WA 89406 – 1846–5–23, 338): Collon 2001, 131 no. 244 and pl. XX

Brooklyn Museum
(**72**) (77.52.3): Green 1986, 28 and pl. X: *c*

Buffalo Museum of Science
(**43**) Ingholt 1944, 10–11 no. 26
(**49**) Ingholt 1944, 10–11 no. 24
(**72**) Ingholt 1944, 11 no. 27

Cabinet royal des médailles à La Haye; for the present location of these seals, see Rijksmuseum van Oudheden – Dutch National Museum of Antiquities

Cherkasky Collection (Martin and Sarah Cherkasky); for the present location of these cylinder seals, see The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Chiha Collection (Michel Chiha)
(**3**) DOUMET 1992, 77 no. 136
(**24**) DOUMET 1992, 133 no. 274
City Museum & Art Gallery, Birmingham
(**25**) (573’65): LAMBERT 1966, 78 no. 62 and pl. XX
“Collection particulière”
(**2**) AMIET 1973A, 31 no. 57 and pl. VIII
(**7**) AMIET 1973A, 31 no. 57 and pl. VIII
Collection X…
(**5**) Drouot (Paris) 30–03–1981, no. 84
(**6**) Drouot (Paris) 30–03–1981, no. 83
(**7**) Drouot (Paris) 30–03–1981, no. 108
(**73**) Drouot (Paris) 30–03–1981, no. 107
Columbia University
(**2**) AMIET 1973A, 31 no. 55 and pl. VIII
De Clercq Collection
(**2**) DE CLERCQ – MENANT 1888, 197 no. 362, 200 (fig.) and pl. III; for the present location of this seal, see Musée du Louvre (AO 22354)
(**2**) DE CLERCQ – MENANT 1888, 249 no. 362 *bis* and pl. IX
(**15**) DE CLERCQ – MENANT 1888, 197 no. 363 and pl. XXXII
(**26**) DE CLERCQ – MENANT 1888, 248 no. 342 *bis* and pl. XXXIX
(**30**) DE CLERCQ – MENANT 1888, 179 no. 312 and pl. XXIX
(**31**) DE CLERCQ – MENANT 1888, 178 no. 307 and pl. XXIX
(**38**) DE CLERCQ – MENANT 1888, 195–196 no. 358 and pl. XXXIII
(**39**) DE CLERCQ – MENANT 1888, 187 no. 334 and pl. I; for the present location of this object, see Musée du Louvre
(**57**) DE CLERCQ – MENANT 1888, 249 no. 344 *bis* and pl. XXXIX
(**61**) DE CLERCQ – MENANT 1888, 204 no. 374 and pl. XXXIV
Deir ez-Zor Museum
(**20**) (SH97/6951/0033): FÜGERT 2015, 145 no. 156
(**20**) (SH88/8979/0103): FÜGERT 2015, 147 no. 158
(**21**) (SH 06/6153/0140): FÜGERT 2015, 149 no. 160
(**21**) (SH 04/6151/0603): FÜGERT 2015, 150 no. 161
(**65**) (SH 03/5953/0208): KÜHNE – RADNER 2008, 26–44 fig. 1–7
(**66**) fragments of clay sealings: FÜGERT 2015, 19–20 no. 16
(**69**) (SH 84/0000/0001 – 4466): BONATZ – KÜHNE – MAHMOUD 1998, 123 no. 115; FÜGERT 2015, vol. 2: 17–18 no. 14 and 462: 14
Durham University Oriental Museum, formerly the Gulbenkian Museum of Oriental Art and Archaeology
(**16**) (N 2368): LAMBERT 1979, 26 no. 79 and pl. IX
Eitel Collection (Tono Eitel); for the present location of the objects formerly kept here, see Archäologischen Museum der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster

Erlenmeyer Collection (present location of these objects unknown)
(**18**) Bonhams (Knightsbridge, London) 22–04–1999, 138 and 147 no. 516
(**33**) ERLENMEYER – ERLENMEYER 1962, 296, 312 fig. 79; Sotheby’s (London) 09–07–1992, 120–121 no. 207
(**41**) ERLENMEYER – ERLENMEYER 1962, 296–297, 312 fig. 77 and pl. LIII: fig. 77
(**43**) ERLENMEYER – ERLENMEYER 1962, 296, 312 fig. 79 and pl. LIII: fig. 79; Sotheby’s (London) 09–07–1992, 120–121 no. 207
(**71**) Sotheby’s (London) 09–07–1992, 118 no. 199
Ex-Surrey 1930’s (from a Surrey [England] collection in the 1930’s)
(**70**): fig. 17 (present location unknown)
Foroughi Collection
(**2**) PORADA 1975, 386–387 no. 297 i

Freie Universität Berlin, Institut für Vorderasiatische Altertumskunde
(**25**) (FUB 121): MOORTGAT-CORRENS 1968, 278 no. 125 and pl. 49
(**31**) (FUB 116): MOORTGAT-CORRENS 1968, 276 no. 119 and pl. 48.

Gorelick Collection (Dr. Leonard Gorelick)
(**2**) NOVECK 1975, 63 no. 47

Gulbenkian Museum of Oriental Art and Archaeology; see Durham University Oriental Museum

Hahn–Voss Collection; for the present location of the objects formerly kept here, see The Israel Museum, Jerusalem

Hessische Privatsammlung
(**66**): REHM 2003, 558 no. 53

Hilprecht Collection; for the present location of the objects formerly kept here, see University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology

Iraq Museum
(**4**) (IM 127980 – ND 1992.442): HUSSEIN – ABDUL-RAZAQ 1997/98, 171 fig. 17; HUSSEIN – ALTAWEEL – GIBSON 2016, 52, 184 and pl. 202a
(**9**) (U. 16630): LEGRAIN 1951, 43 no. 614 and pl. 36.
(**11**) (IM 127977 – ND 1992.440): HUSSEIN – ABDUL-RAZAQ 1997/98, 175 fig. 48; HUSSEIN – ALTAWEEL – GIBSON 2016, 52, 184 and pl. 201e
(**20**) (IM 127647 – ND 1992.108): HUSSEIN – ABDUL-RAZAQ 1997/98, 169 fig. 3; HUSSEIN – ALTAWEEL – GIBSON 2016, 49, 166 and pl. 192b
(**24**) (W 21937): LENZEN 1974, 35: W 21937 and pl. 23: f
(**39**) stamp seal in form of recumbent bull (IM 108986 – ND 1988.25): HUSSEIN – SULEIMAN 2000, xx fig. 13; HUSSEIN – ALTAWEEL – GIBSON 2016, 6, 62 and pl. 13: d.
(**39**) stamp seal in shape of calf (IM 127555 – ND 1992.14): HUSSEIN – ABDUL-RAZAQ 1997/98, 175 fig. 41; HUSSEIN – ALTAWEEL – GIBSON 2016, 50, 165 and pl. 192: e.
(**40**) (U. 18240): LEGRAIN 1951, 43 no. 610 and pl. 36
(**64**) (IM 127720 – ND 1992.180): HUSSEIN – ABDUL-RAZAQ 1997/98, 174 and fig. 37; HUSSEIN – ALTAWEEL – GIBSON 2016, 49, 168 and pl. 190b
(**65**) sealing (IM 56822 – ND 231): PARKER 1955, 110: ND 231 and pl. XX: 2

The Israel Museum, Jerusalem
(**38**) (IAA 65-227): ORNAN 2010, 232–234 no. 2.1 and 411 figs. 1–2
(**64**) (IMJ 96.153.57): ORNAN 2004, 13–14 figs. 1a–b and 26 note 2

Japanese private collection
(**65**): WATANABE 1992, 357–358 and pl. 70: a

Kist Collection (Joos Kist); see Allard Pierson Museum

Kunsthistorisches Museum
(**25**) (KHM ÄgS Sem. 1136 [ex VKM 25399]): BLEIBTREU 1981, 81 no. 98

Layard Collection (Sir Austen Henry Layard) (present location of these objects unknown)
(**50**) BOROWSKI 1952, 178 no. 10 and pl. XXIII
(**54**) BOROWSKI 1952, 176–177 no. 8 and pl. XXIII

Liverpool University
(**78**) (RWH 26): DALLEY 1972, 129 no. 28 and pl. LI

Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley; see Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology

Lúcia Collection (Dr. Albert Lúcia); see Bibel+Orient Museum, Sammlung der Universität Fribourg

Marcopoli Collection (present location of these objects unknown)
(**9**) TEISSIER 1984, 182–183 no. 288; Christie's (New York) 14–06–1993, 195 no. 275 above
(**17**) TEISSIER 1984, 180–181 no. 276; Christie's (New York) 14–06–1993, 191 no. 273 (3rd item)
(**18**) TEISSIER 1984, 156–157 no. 185; Christie's (New York) 14–06–1993, 184 no. 262 above
(**44**) TEISSIER 1984, 174–175 no. 250; Christie's (New York) 14–06–1993, 190 no. 270 (3rd item)
(**44**) TEISSIER 1984, 174–175 no. 249; Christie's (New York) 14–06–1993, 190 no. 270 (2nd item)

(**66**) Teissier 1984, 172–173 no. 237; Christie's (New York) 14–06–1993, 189 no. 268 above

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

(**28**) (MMA 1974.288): https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/326161

(**37**) (MMA 1983.116): Wittmann 1992, 264 no. 73 and pl. 26: 73

(**38**) (MMA 1987.96.8): Pittman – Aruz 1987, 68 no. 60

(**38**) (MMA 1987.96.10): Pittman – Aruz 1987, 71 no. 69 and 80

(**39**) (L55.49.86 [Eisen 88] loan to MMA; formerly kept in the Moore Collection, under the number Moore 80): Eisen 1940, 53 no. 88 and pl. X; Williams-Forte 1976, no. 54

(**61**) (MMA 1999.325.103): https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/327699

(**65**) sealing (MMA 57.27.22): Parker 1962, 31: ND.5486 and pl. XII: 4

(**66**) (MMA 1999.325.83): https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/327679

(**67**) (MMA 1999.325.82): https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/327678

(**70**) (MMA 1999.325.73): https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/327669

Moore Collection (Mrs. William H. Moore)

(**2**) (Moore 68): Eisen 1940, 51 no. 75 and pl. IX

(**3**) (Moore 62): Eisen 1940, 51 no. 74 and pl. IX

(**39**) (Moore 80); see The Metropolitan Museum of Art (L55.49.86 [Eisen 88])

(**76**) stamp seal: Moore 146 (Moore Collection): Eisen 1940, 53 no. 91 and pl. X

Morgan Library & Museum:

(**2**) (Morgan 812): Porada 1948, 102, 180 no. 812 and pl. CXXII

(**3**) (Morgan 764): Porada 1948, 93 no. 764 and pl. CXVI

(**8**) (Morgan 814): Porada 1948, 102 no. 814 and pl. CXXII

(**11**) (Morgan 1145): Porada 1948, 89 no. 725 and pl. CVIII

(**12**) (Morgan 1145): Porada 1948, 162 no. 1145 and pl. CLXXV

(**15**) (Morgan 749): Porada 1948, 91 no. 749 and pl. CXIII

(**19**) (Morgan 632): Porada 1948, 76 no. 632 and pl. XCI

(**25**) (Morgan 742): Porada 1948, 90 no. 742 and pl. CXI

(**25**) (Morgan 746): Porada 1948, 90 no. 746 and pl. CXI

(**27**) (Morgan 1009): Porada 1948, 140 no. 1009 and pl. CLIII

(**28**) (Morgan 707): Porada 1948, 87 no. 707 and pl. CV

(**28**) (Morgan 709): Porada 1948, 87 no. 709 and pl. CVI

(**30**) (Morgan 625): Porada 1948, 75 no. 625 and pl. XC

(**42**) (Morgan 644): Porada 1948, 77 no. 644 and pl. XCIII

(**42**) (Morgan 645): Porada 1948, 77 no. 645 and pl. XCIII

(**46**) (Morgan 728): Porada 1948, 89 no. 728 and pl. CIX

(**56**) (Morgan 673): Porada 1948, 81 no. 673 and pl. XCIX

(**57**) (Morgan 700): Porada 1948, 85 no. 700 and pl. CIV

(**64**) (Morgan 694): Porada 1948, 85 no. 694 and pl. CIII

(**65**) (Morgan 694): Porada 1948, 85 no. 694 and pl. CIII

(**72**) (Morgan 784): Porada 1948, 95 no. 784 and pl. CXIX

(**75**) (Morgan 695): Porada 1948, 85 no. 695 and pl. CIII

Motamed Collection (Saeed Motamed)

(**32**) Möller 1964, 66 no. 240 and fig. 57

Musées d'art et d'histoire de Genève

(**38**) (MAH 1874/0.3): Vollenweider 1967, 61 no. 62 and pl. 32: 1–2

(**71**) (MAH 1963/19889): Vollenweider 1967, 76–77 no. 86 and pl. 39: 1–2, 4 and 6

Musée du Louvre

(**2**) (AS 9142) Delaporte 1920, 65 no. S. 555 and pl. 48: 7

(**2**) sealing: Scheil 1911 = MDP 11, 98–99 no. 306; Amiet 1973a, 28 no. 22 and pl. V

(**2**) (AO 8819) Amiet 1973a, 31 no. 69 and pl. IX

(**2**) (Sb 6282 – K 424) Amiet 1972, 282 no. 2188 and pl. 188
(**2**) (AO 22419) Amiet 1973a, 31 no. 59 and pl. VIII
(**2**) (AO 22354): De Clercq – Menant 1888, 197 no. 362, 200 (fig.) and pl. III
(**7**) (AOD 125): Delaporte 1920, 79 no. D.143 and pl. 52: 19
(**7**) (Sb 1477): Amiet 1972, 275, 282 no. 2186 and pl. 188: 2186
(**7**) (Sb 6249 [H 412]): Amiet 1972, 282 no. 2187 and pl. 188: 2187
(**7**) sealing (S.556 – AS 9142 [305]): Delaporte 1920, 65 no. S. 556 and pl. 48: 9 (S.556); Amiet 1973a, 28 no. 21 and pl. V
(**10**) Delaporte 1909a, 72–73 no. 98 and pl. VII
(**11**) Delaporte 1909a, 72–73 no. 98 and pl. VII
(**11**) (AO 7165): Delaporte 1923, 164 no. A.650 and pl. 86: 16
(**11**) (N 3356 – N III 732): Delaporte 1920, 86 no. 3 (K.2) and pl. 57
(**11**) (N 3355 – N III 731): Delaporte 1920, 86 no. 8 (K.3) and pl. 57
(**13**) (KLq 31): Delaporte 1923, 169 no. A.715 and pl. 89: 16
(**25**) (MNB 1353): Delaporte 1920, 26 no. T. 241 and pl. 6: 28
(**25**) (Sb 6113 [E 671]): Amiet 1972, 274, 280 no. 2169 and pl. 187
(**25**) (AO 2613): Delaporte 1923, 167: A. 694 and pl. 89: 2
(**33**) (AO 7216): Delaporte 1923, 165: A.672 and pl. 87: 15
(**39**) (AO 22343): De Clercq – Menant 1888, 187 no. 334 and pl. I
(**41**) (AO 2616): Delaporte 1923, 164–165 no. 10 (A.654) and pl. 87: 10
(**43**) (AO 7163): Delaporte 1923, 167 no. A. 693 and pl. 89: 1
(**66**) (unknown museum number): Menant 1886, II., 260 and pl. VII: 5; Milani 1909, 327 fig. 24; Jeremias 1913, 275 fig. 175
(**72**) (MN 105 – N 8371 [3327]): Delaporte 1923, 173 no. A.770 and pl. 90: 9
(**73**) (AO 2185 – Sb 6873): Amiet 1972, 282 no. 2185 and pl. 188
(**73**) (AO 2108): Delaporte 1923, 182: A.838 and pl. 94: 7
(**73**) (AO 7222): Delaporte 1923, 182: A.837 and pl. 94: 6
(**73**) (AOD 110): Delaporte 1920, 76: D. 116 and pl. 53: 12
Musée Guimet; see Musée du Louvre

Musée historique et archéologique de l'Orléanais
(**31**) (C. 341): Delaporte 1909b, 96 no. 23
Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze
(**25**) (77376): Delaporte 1927, 61 no. 22 and pl. VIII; Felli 2013, 338–339 no. 33 and 388: 33 (pl.)
(**30**) (77371): Delaporte 1927, 61 no. 23 and pl. VIII; Felli 2013, 337–338 no. 31 and 387: 31 (pl.)
Museo Profano; see Musei Vaticani

Musei Vaticani
(**18**) (6190): van Buren 1942, 364 fig. 8 and 365 no. 8
(**8**) (IB. SA: 103): van Buren 1940, 41 no. 84 and pl. IX
(**76**) (IB. SA: 100): van Buren 1940, 49–50 no. 105 and pl. XII
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
(**2**) (MFA 65.1429): http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/cylinder-seal-163814
(**27**) (MFA 65.1408): http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/cylinder-seal-163729
(**38**) (MFA 65.1663): Green 1997, 139, 151 fig. 9 and 154 fig. 9.
(**38**) (MFA 65.1415): Ataç 2010a, 134–135 fig. 107; http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/cylinder-seal-163850 (accessed 07–09–2018).
(**40**) (MFA 27.651): Porada 1947, 149–157 and pl. III: fig. 3
(**46**) (MFA 65.1362): http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/cylinder-seal-163906
Muze-ye Iran Bastan
(**2**) (MIB – CS 421) van Loon 1989a, 440 no. 153, 466 no. 243:153 and pl. 243: 153
(**2**) (MIB-729 – Sor 862): van Loon 1989a, 440 no. 152, 466 no. 243:152 and pl. 243
(**3**) (MIB-1469 – Sor 1162): van Loon 1989a, 437–438 no. 142, 465 no. 242:142 and pl. 242

(**7**) (MIB – CS 377): van Loon 1989a, 415 no. 46, 457 no. 233:46 and pl. 233
(**21**) (MIB-722 – Sor 1353 –): van Loon 1989a, 416 no. 51, 457 no. 233:51 and pl. 233
(**73**) (MIB – CS 272): van Loon 1989a, 24, 422 no. 69, 459 no. 235:69, pls. 235 and 259: c
Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie
(**40**) (MNK-IV G-18): Reiche 2011, 323 fig. 10
Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie
(**25**) (MNW 148437): Reiche 2011, 326 fig. 15
National Museum of Aleppo
(**18**) (M.6067): Hammade 1987, 112–113 no. 217
(**24**) (M.4548): Hammade 1987, 128–129 no. 247
(**46**) (M.1000): Hammade 1987, 142–143 no. 277
(**46**) (M.1004): Hammade 1987, 142–143 no. 278
(**60**) (M.960): Hammade 1987, 138–139 no. 269
The National Museum of Damascus
(**44**) (46): Kühne 1980, 138–139 no. 85
National Museum of Iran
(**20**) (NMI 13149): Ascalone – Baseri 2014 [2016], 36–37 fig. 6.
Newell Collection (Edward T. Newell); see Yale Babylonian Collection

Oppenländer Collection (Erwin Oppenländer); see Freie Universität Berlin, Institut für Vorderasiatische Altertumskunde

Oriental Institute Museum
(**5**) (A25308 – Sor 1625): van Loon 1989a, 415 no. 45, 457 no. 233:45 and pl. 233
(**18**) (A12448 – TS 41): Algaze 1989, 8–9 and pl. 4: b
(**21**) (DS 580): Loud – Altman 1938, 98 no. 94 and pl. 58: 9
(**27**) (A25192 – Sor 1088a): van Loon 1989b, 326, 345: 213a and pl. 213: a
Orientalisches Seminar der Universität Köln
(**40**) von Oppenheim – Hrouda 1962, 35 no. 36 and pl. 25: 36
Palestine Museum
(**72**) (CR 198 – J 988): Petrie 1928, 10–11 no. 50 and pl. XIX: 29; Parker 1949, 7 no. 7 and pl. I
Philadelphia Museum of Art; see University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology
Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, formerly the Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley
(**16**) (9-1952): Tomabechi 1984, 48 no. 134 and pl. XIII: pl. 93
(**25**) (9-1953): Tomabechi 1984, 48 no. 133 and pl. XIII: plate 92a, b
(**25**) (9-1952): Tomabechi 1984, 48 no. 134 and pl. XIII: pl. 93
Pontificio Istituto Biblico; see Musei Vaticani
Princeton University Library
(**60**) (Princeton 28): Gordon 1953, 249–250 no. 37 and pl. LXIX
Private collection
(**7**) Wagner – Boardman 2003, 126 no. 909 and pl. 131
(**16**) Wagner – Boardman 2003, 128 no. 930 and pl. 135
(**18**) Wagner – Boardman 2003, 128 no. 933 and pl. 135
(**66**) Wagner – Boardman 2003, 126 no. 911 and pl. 132
"Private collector" in the South of England
(**73**) Lambert 1970, 48 fig. 3 and 49–50 no. (iii)
Private collection of Tübingen
(**38**) Gamer-Wallert 1997a, 147–149 and 150 figs. 1–2
Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts
(**18**) (1.2b 172): Schmidt 1930–33, no. 97
(**18**) (1.2b 253): Schmidt 1930–33, no. 96
(**64**) (1.2b 205): Schmidt 1930–33, no. 68
Rambova Collection (Natasha Rambova)
(**16**) Sotheby's (London) 08–07–1991, 39 and 45 no. 96
(**17**) Sotheby's (London) 08–07–1991, 38 and 44 no. 93
(**41**) Sotheby's (London) 10 and 11–12–1992, 30 and 38 no. 84
Rijksmuseum van Oudheden – Dutch National Museum of Antiquities
(**61**) (GS 30124) Menant 1878, 56 no. 136 – 84; Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1952, 33 no. 124
Royal Ontario Museum
(**60**) (D. 1545): Meek 1943, 7 no. 30 and pl. III
Schlumberger Collection (Gustave Schlumberger); see Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Schøyen Collection (Martin Schøyen)

(**38**) (SC 1989): Christie's (London) 07–12–1994, 106 no. 222; George 2003, 101 fig. 1 and the cover illustration on both volumes)

Seyrig Collection (Henry Seyrig); see Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Sissa Collection (Ugo Sissa)

(**16**) van Buren 1959, 24 no. 105 and pl. VII

(**20**) van Buren 1959, 26 no. 111 and pl. VIII

Southesk Collection (James Carnegie, the ninth Earl of Southesk K.T. [1827–1905]), see British Museum

(**39**) stamp seal: Carnegie 1908, vol. 1: 208 no. O 23 and pl. XVII: O 32 (present location unknown)

State Hermitage Museum

(**36**) (ДВ-6572): Mattila 1995, 41 (fig.) and 188 no. 51

(**71**) (ДВ-6520): Mattila 1995, 40 (fig.) and 189 no. 56

Steiermärkisches Landesmuseum Joanneum

(**77**) Bleibtreu 1976, 122–123 no. 7; Bleibtreu 1981, 85–86 no. 104

Surena Collection

(**39**) Christie's (New York) 11–06–2001, 65 no. 511

(**61**) Christie's (New York) 11–06–2001, 73 no. 530; Niederreiter – Sass 2018b, 280–282 fig. 6

(**73**) Christie's (New York) 11–06–2001, 72 no. 529

Thorvaldsen Collection

(**66**): (1694): Fossing 1929, 29 no. 1 and pl. I: 1; Di Paolo 2012, 29–30 fig. 7

United States National Museum

(**76**) (U.S.N.M. 207956): Casanowicz 1926, 11 no. 1 and pl. 4

(**76**) (U.S.N.M. 207940): Casanowicz 1926, 11 no. 2 and pl. 4

University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology

(**1**) (CBS 1053) Legrain 1951, 42 no. 595 and pl. 35

(**3**) (HAS 60-108 – UM 61-5-20): Marcus 1996, 118–119 no. 63, fig. 85 and pl. 63

(**7**) (UM-43-25-280 – CS 380): van Loon 1989a, 415 no. 47, 457 no. 233:47 and pl. 233

(**8**) (CBS 8915): Legrain 1925, 307 no. 608 and pl. XXXI

(**8**) (CBS 5036): Legrain 1925, 301 no. 577 and pl. XXX

(**9**) (CBS 14477): Legrain 1925, 310 no. 624 and pl. XXXII

(**13**) (L-29-494A – F-29-6-188-135 – HIL.CAT.66) (Philadelphia Museum of Art; permanent loan in the present collection):
Weber 1920, vol. 1: 89 and vol. 2: pl. 64: fig. 311: Hilprecht 66 Assur. I 3

(**23**) (CBS 5036): Legrain 1925, 301 no. 577 and pl. XXX

(**26**) sealing (CBM 3135): Porada 1952, pl. XXIX: 3; Matthews 1992, 121–122 no. 161

(**40**) L-29-495A – F-29-6-188-136 – HIL.CAT. 182 (Philadelphia Museum of Art, permanent loan in the present collection): Weber 1920, vol. 1: 88 and vol. 2: pl. 63: fig. 307: Hilprecht 182 assyr(isch) I 2

(**43**) (CBS 5034): Legrain 1925, 304 no. 592 and pl. XXXI

(**46**) (CBS 14444): Legrain 1925, 304 no. 594 and pl. XXXI

(**59**) (CBS 1053): Legrain 1925, 304–305 no. 595 and pl. XXXI

(**79**) (CBS 14317): Legrain 1925, 306 no. 604 and pl. XXXI

Vorderasiatisches Museum

(**4**) (VA 7981 – Ass 21327): Moortgat 1940, 147 no. 698 and pl. 82

(**4**) (VA Ass 1614 – Ass 14716): Moortgat 1940, 148 no. 699 and pl. 83

(**4**) (VA 4252): Moortgat 1940, 148 no. 700 and pl. 83

(**4**) (VA Ass 1604 – Ass 6139): Moortgat 1940, 148 no. 705 and pl. 83

(**13**) (VA 5180 – Ass 9451): Moortgat 1940, 139 no. 595 and pl. 71

(**15**) (VA 5180 – Ass 9451): Moortgat 1940, 139 no. 595 and pl. 71

(**16**) (VA 12843): Moortgat 1940, 144 no. 648 and pl. 77; von Oppenheim – Hrouda 1962, 35 no. 38 and pl. 25

(**18**) (VA Ass 1690 – Ass 10479): Moortgat 1940, 144 no. 650 and pl. 77

(**19**) (VA Ass 1685 – Ass 9676): Moortgat 1940, 143 no. 642 and pl. 76

(**19**) (VA 7978 – Ass 18902): Moortgat 1940, 143 no. 647 and pl. 77

(**19**) (VA 4212 – Ass 11190 ai): Moortgat 1940, 143 no. 639 and pl. 76

(**20**) (VA Ass 1619 – Ass 14360): Klengel-Brandt 2014, 12 no. 47 and pl. 12: 47a–b

(**21**) (VA 5361 – Ass 18574 b): Moortgat 1940, 148 no. 714 and pl. 84; Klengel-Brandt 2014, 83 no. 269 and pl. 50

(**21**) (VA Ass 1599 – Ass 8779 b): Moortgat 1940, 149 no. 715 and pl. 84; Klengel-Brandt 2014, 83 no. 270 and pl. 51

(**21**) (VA Ass 1603 – Ass 10441): Moortgat 1940, 149 no. 716 and pl. 84; Klengel-Brandt 2014, 83 no. 272 and pl. 51

(**21**) (VA 7984 – Ass 21328): Moortgat 1940, 149 no. 717 and pl. 84; Klengel-Brandt 2014, 83 no. 271 and pl. 51

(**21**) (VA 12849): Moortgat 1940, 149 no. 719 and pl. 84; von Oppenheim – Hrouda 1962, 31, 36 no. 45 and pl. 26: 45

(**21**) (VA 12848): Moortgat 1940, 149 no. 718 and pl. 84; von Oppenheim – Hrouda 1962, 31, 36 no. 44 and pl. 26

(**21**) (VA Ass 1622): Klengel-Brandt 2014, 12 no. 49 and pl. 13: 49a–b

(**23**) (VA 3272): Moortgat 1940, 143 no. 635 and pl. 75

(**23**) (VA 3235): Moortgat 1940, 142 no. 633 and pl. 75

(**26**) (VA 3903): Moortgat 1940, 136 no. 560 and pl. 67

(**26**) sealing (VAT 8926 and VAT 8714 – Ass 14327 and Ass 17822): Moortgat 1942, 58 no. 11; Matthews 1990, 105 footnote 192 no. 424

(**29**) (VA 5189): Moortgat 1940, 145 no. 665 and pl. 79; Klengel-Brandt 2014, 70 no. 152 and pl. 35: 152

(**34**) (VA Ass 1701 – Ass 9939): Klengel-Brandt 2014, 5–6 no. 14 and pl. 4

(**35**) (VA 539): Moortgat 1940, 150 no. 743 and pl. 87

(**37**) (VA 6938 – Bab. 36292): Moortgat 1940, 150 no. 735 and pl. 86

(**40**) (VA 693): Moortgat 1940, 141 no. 612 and pl. 73

(**52**) (VA 4993): Moortgat 1940, 145 no. 671 and pl. 79

(**64**) (VA 2923): Moortgat 1940, 144 no. 656 and pl. 78

(**65**) (VA 4220 – Ass 2307): Moortgat 1940, 140 no. 605 and pl. 72

(**67**) (VA 508): Moortgat 1940, 140 no. 598 and pl. 71

The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore

(**2**) (WAG 42.443) Gordon 1939, 27–28 no. 86 and pl. X

(**7**) (WAG C35): Gordon 1939, 29 no. 95 ("plaster impression") and pl. XII

(**34**) (WAG 42.798): Gordon 1939, 28 no. 87 and pl. XI

(**63**) (WAG 42.491): Gordon 1939, 27 no. 82 and pl. X

(**65**) (WAG 42.668): see footnote 420 in the current volume

(**67**) scaraboid (WAG 42.153): Gordon 1939, 32 no. 110 and pl. XIII

(**67**) (WAG 42.435): Gordon 1939, 26–27 no. 80 and pl. X

Wellcome Institute

(**21**) (365): Parker 1949, 6 no. 4 and pl. I

Yale Babylonian Collection

(**25**) (NCBS 436): von der Osten 1934, 64 no. 436 and pl. XXIX

(**32**) (NCBS 426): von der Osten 1934, 62–63 no. 426 and pl. XXIX

(**50**) (NCBS 402): von der Osten 1934, 60 no. 402 and pl. XXVII

(**52**) (NCBS 398): von der Osten 1934, 60 no. 398 and pl. XXVII

(**57**) (NCBS 435): von der Osten 1934, 63 no. 435 and pl. XXIX

(**61**) (NCBS 445): von der Osten 1934, 65 no. 445 and pl. XXX

(**73**) (NCBS 451): von der Osten 1934, 66 no. 451 and pl. XXX

(**74**) (NCBS 446): von der Osten 1934, 65 no. 446 and pl. XXX

List of those objects with provenance of which the present location is unknown to the author

Al-Qādisīyah
(**1**) AL-HURI 1979/81, 24 no. 26

Alişar Hüyük
(**20**) (e 1193): VON DER OSTEN 1937, 419 fig. 479, 420 and 423 no. e 1193

Boğazköy
(**20**) (1193/e): BERAN 1964, 30–31, 37 no. 3 and pl. 6: 3

Chogha Mish
(**7**) KANTOR 1981–82, 25 (fig.).

Kalḫu
(**5**) (ND 5364): PARKER 1962, 31: ND.5364 and pl. XIII: 2
(**12**) (ND 5262): PARKER 1962, 28: ND.5262 and pl. IX: 1
(**18**) sealing (ND 2331): PARKER 1955, 121: ND.2331, fig. 20 and pl. XXVII: 5
(**19**) (ND 2151): PARKER 1955, 100: ND.2151 and pl. XII: 3
(**20**) (ND 88 89 [PV 54]): COLLON 2015, 87–89 no. ND 88 89 (PV 54)
(**21**) (ND 1686): PARKER 1955, 104: ND.1686 and pl. XV: 4
(**30**) (ND 6027): PARKER 1962, 33: ND.6027 and pl. XVI: 2
(**44**) (ND 6028): PARKER 1962, 33: ND.6028 and pl. XVI: 1
(**51**) (ND 6083): PARKER 1962, 35: ND.6083 and pl. XVII: 9
(**60**) (ND 6086): PARKER 1962, 33: ND.6086 and pl. XVI: 1

Nineveh
(**64**) fragment of potsherd with seal impression (XII,B,11): CAMPBELL THOMPSON – HUTCHINSON 1929, pl. LVII: 340

"Saudi Arabia – Salt Mine Site"
(**25**) LOMBARD 1988, 126 fig. 8 and 127; POTTS 2010, 33 no. 86 (fig. 12) and 36

Sultantepe
(**21**) LLOYD 1954, 108 fig. 8: 2 and 110 no. 8: 2

Tall Masaïkh
(**26**) (K12 311): POLI 2015, 291–294 figs. 2 and 3

Tall Arbid
(**18**) (ARB'97 A29/19/40c-1): KOLIŃSKI – REICHE 2008, 53 and 59 fig. 3

Tell Halaf
(**10**) (TH06C-0069): ELSEN-NOVÁK 2009, 67 fig. 6-2,3 and 68.

Tell Kesaran
(**27**) (HK-35/2): BOEHMER 1985, 20–21 no. 25 and fig. 36

Tepe Guran (Luristan)
(**20**) (G II D7, pithos sherd with seal impression): THRANE 2001, 87–88 fig. 74

Tell Sabi Abyad
(**8**) (Z03-23): © Tell Sabi Abyad project

Ur
(**33**) (U.1487): WOOLLEY 1965, 96: U.1487 and pl. 35

Uruk
(**33**) (W 21937): LENZEN 1974, 35: W 21937 and pl. 23: f

War Kabud
(**21**) (A102-14, inv. nr. WK 66/190): HAERINCK – OVERLAET 2004, 78–79 fig. 38: A102-14, pls. 42: 12 and 151: A102-14

"Zagros graveyard" near Sanandaj
(**4**) AMELIRAD – OVERLAET – HAERINCK 2012, 55–56 no. 1 and 81: pl. 22: 1
(**21**) AMELIRAD – OVERLAET – HAERINCK 2012, 55 no. 5 and 81: pl. 22: 5

3. List of the cylinder seals whose previous and present locations are unknown

(**10**) Christie's (South Kensington, London) 25–04–2001, 225–227 no. 511

(**17**) Drouot (Paris) 05–12–1994, 9 and 11–12 no. 26

(**23**) Sotheby's (London) 10 and 11–12–1992, 44 no. 95

(**25**) Art market: Pecorella 1980, 330–331 no. 5 and pl. III

(**25**) Art market: Bleibtreu 1981, 81 no. 97

(**25**) Drouot (Paris) 25 and 26–06–1962, no. 219

(**25**) Drouot (Paris) 25 and 26–06–1962, no. 222

(**37**) Christie's (London) 07–07–1993, 90–91 no. 209

(**38**) Christie's (London) 12–12–1984, 82–83 no. 325

(**38**) "sold twice at the Hôtel Drouot: 2–4 May, 1973, lot 759, and 25–27 April 1960, lot 96" (Lambert 1987, 50 footnote 41) and pl. XI: 26; Gamer-Wallert 1997a, 147 footnote 12 (the cylinder seal appeared for the third time in Hôtel Drouot [Paris] 13–10–1995, no. 112)

(**38**) "seen on the market (photo only)" (Lambert 1987, 50 footnote 42 and pl. XI: 27)

(**39**) Art market in Basel: Opificius 1968, 34 no. 70.

(**40**) Christie's (South Kensington, London) 13–05–2003, 170–171 no. 303

(**54**) Christie's (South Kensington, London) 12–04–2000, 106–107 no. 222

(**71**) Sotheby's (London) 09–07–1992, 118 no. 199

(**72**) Drouot (Paris) 14–05–1982, no. 436

(**79**) Scheil 1897, 52 no. 2 and pl. XXVI; Niederreiter 2015, 147 no. C

Chart 1

Catalogue numbers of the cylinder seals with their museum numbers

1	O.2773	**21**	O.2765	**41**	O.2756	**61**	O.1464
2	O.1474	**22**	O.2779	**42**	O.460	**62**	O.465
3	O.2764	**23**	O.2772	**43**	O.567	**63**	O.1472
4	O.2757	**24**	O.2774	**44**	O.788	**64**	O.3530 TR.4419
5	O.2771	**25**	O.1809	**45**	O.2761	**65**	O.1499
6	ND 5368 O.2680	**26**	O.2770	**46**	O.431	**66**	O.1637
7	O.2783	**27**	O.2767	**47**	O.2750	**67**	O.562
8	O.2781	**28**	O.1465	**48**	O.2745	**68**	O.1473
9	O.2782	**29**	O.2752	**49**	O.1636	**69**	O.2755
10	O.4623	**30**	O.2754	**50**	O.786	**70**	O.1500
11	O.2751	**31**	O.1632	**51**	O.2753	**71**	O.2748
12	O.1479	**32**	O.2775	**52**	O.1633	**72**	O.2776
13	O.434	**33**	O.2760	**53**	O.1634	**73**	O.2780
14	O.2806	**34**	O.1486	**54**	O.4622	**74**	O.2758
15	O.1478	**35**	IR.866 O.2777	**55**	O.1816	**75**	O.560
16	O.1638	**36**	O.568	**56**	O.787	**76**	O.553
17	O.2762	**37**	O.2759	**57**	O.1475	**77**	O.1737
18	O.569	**38**	O.1388	**58**	O.2749	**78**	O.2766
19	O.675	**39**	O.1032	**59**	O.1042	**79**	O.2802
20	O.2807	**40**	O.477	**60**	O.3602	**80**	O.4625
						Appendix	IR.34 O.708

Chart 2

Museum and registration numbers of the cylinder seals

IR.34	**Appendix**	O.1388	**38**	O.2680	**6**	O.2770	**26**
IR.866	**35**	O.1464	**61**	O.2745	**48**	O.2771	**5**
ND 5368	**6**	O.1465	**28**	O.2748	**71**	O.2772	**23**
O.431	**46**	O.1472	**63**	O.2749	**58**	O.2774	**24**
O.434	**13**	O.1473	**68**	O.2750	**47**	O.2775	**32**
O.460	**42**	O.1474	**2**	O.2751	**11**	O.2776	**72**
O.465	**62**	O.1475	**57**	O.2752	**29**	O.2777	**35**
O.477	**40**	O.1478	**15**	O.2753	**51**	O.2779	**22**
O.553	**76**	O.1479	**12**	O.2754	**30**	O.2780	**73**
O.560	**75**	O.1486	**34**	O.2755	**69**	O.2781	**8**
O.562	**67**	O.1499	**65**	O.2756	**41**	O.2782	**9**
O.567	**43**	O.1500	**70**	O.2757	**4**	O.2783	**7**
O.568	**36**	O.1632	**31**	O.2758	**74**	O.2802	**79**
O.569	**18**	O.1633	**52**	O.2759	**37**	O.2806	**14**
O.675	**19**	O.1634	**53**	O.2760	**33**	O.2807	**20**
O.708	**Appendix**	O.1636	**49**	O.2761	**45**	O.3530	**64**
O.786	**50**	O.1637	**66**	O.2762	**17**	O.3602	**60**
O.787	**56**	O.1638	**16**	O.2764	**3**	O.4622	**54**
O.788	**44**	O.1737	**77**	O.2765	**21**	O.4623	**10**
O.1032	**39**	O.1809	**25**	O.2766	**78**	O.4625	**80**
O.1042	**59**	O.1816	**55**	O.2767	**27**	TR.4419	**64**

Chart 3
Acquisition of the cylinder seals

1913	Bought from l'abbé de Genouillac in Paris, who acquired in Baghdad during his travels of 1911–12.	O.431	**46**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.434	**13**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.460	**42**
ibid.	*ibid.* (present location of the object unknown)	O.465	**62**
ibid.	Bought from l'abbé de Genouillac in Paris, who acquired in Syria during his travels of 1911–12.	O.477	**40**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.553	**76**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.560	**75**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.562	**67**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.567	**43**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.568	**36**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.569	**18**
1915 at the latest	Appendix. No documentation in the museum archive about the circumstances of the object acquired at latest in 1915	IR.34 O.708	
01–08–1923	Acquired from the antiquarian I. Élias Géjou in Paris (said to be from "Susa") (present location of the object unknown).	O.675	**19**
26–02–1925	Gift of Dr. Jousset de Bellesme, who acquired the cylinder seal in one of the bazaars in the "région de Ḫoms-Ḫamath" (Speleers 1923b, 193) in 1893.	O.786	**50**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.787	**56**
1928 or 1929	There is no documentation in the museum archive regarding the circumstances of the object, acquired in 1928 or 1929. 1928 or 1929, in the museum archive.	O.788	**44**
10–11–1932	Acquired by A.K. Ebeian in Damascus.	O.1032	**39**
21–02–1933	*ibid.*	O.1042	**59**
23–09–1936	Acquired from the antiquarian I. Élias Géjou in Paris (present location of the object unknown).	O.1388	**38**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.1464	**61**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.1465	**28**
ibid.	*ibid.* (said to be from "Tell Amran (?)")	O.1472	**63**
ibid.	*ibid.* (said to be from "Warka")	O.1473	**68**
ibid.	*ibid.* (said to be from "Birs Babel")	O.1474	**2**
ibid.	*ibid.* (said to be from "Kerkouk")	O.1475	**57**
ibid.	*ibid.* (said to be from "Nippur")	O.1478	**15**
ibid.	*ibid.* (said to be from "Warka")	O.1479	**12**
ibid.	*ibid.* (said to be from "Kalat Shergat")	O.1486	**34**
ibid.	*ibid.* (said to be from "Kish")	O.1499	**65**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.1500	**70**
15–05–1939	Formerly in the Cugnin Collection.	O.1632	**31**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.1633	**52**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.1634	**53**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.1636	**49**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.1637	**66**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.1638	**16**
01–03–1948	Acquired from the antiquarian Edgar Beer (Brussels).	O.1737	**77**
09–03–1950	*ibid.*	O.1809	**25**

15–05–1950	*ibid.*	O.1816	**55**
02–04–1957	Kalḫu (Nimrud), from the Ninurta Temple cache, from Max E. L. Mallowan's excavation (1956). Donated by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq.	ND 5368 O.2680	**6**
11–10–1958	Formerly in the Moussa Collection.	O.2745	**48**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.2748	**71**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.2749	**58**
ibid.	*ibid.* (said to be from the region situated "entre le Louristan et Kermanshah")	O.2750	**47**
ibid.	*ibid.* (*ibid.*)	O.2751	**11**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.2752	**29**
ibid.	*ibid.* (said to be from the "versant occidental du Louristan")	O.2753	**51**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.2754	**30**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.2755	**69**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.2756	**41**
ibid.	*ibid.* (said to be from "Louristan")	O.2757	**4**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.2758	**74**
ibid.	*ibid.* (said to be from the region situated "entre l'Élam et Persépolis")	O.2759	**37**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.2760	**33**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.2761	**45**
ibid.	*ibid.* (said to be from "Kermanshah")	O.2762	**17**
ibid.	*ibid.* (said to be from the region situated "près du Louristan")	O.2764	**3**
ibid.	*ibid.* (said to be from "Louristan")	O.2765	**21**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.2766	**78**
ibid.	*ibid.* (said to be from "Louristan")	O.2767	**27**
ibid.	*ibid.* (said to be from the region of "Louristan")	O.2770	**26**
ibid.	*ibid.* (said to be from the region situated "près du Louristan")	O.2771	**5**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.2772	**23**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.2773	**1**
ibid.	*ibid.* (said to be from the region situated "entre l'Élam et Persépolis")	O.2774	**24**
ibid.	*ibid.* (*ibid.*)	O.2775	**32**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.2776	**72**
ibid.	*ibid.*	IR.866 O.2777	**35**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.2779	**22**
ibid.	*ibid.* (said to be from the region situated "entre l'Élam et Persépolis")	O.2780	**73**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.2781	**8**
ibid.	*ibid.* (said to be from the region situated "entre l'Élam et Persépolis")	O.2782	**9**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.2783	**7**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.2802	**79**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.2806	**14**
ibid.	*ibid.*	O.2807	**20**
1969	Tell al-Rimah (Kattara or Karana, Neo-Assyrian Zamaḫe), from the Late Assyrian shrine, Area A. Donated by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq.	O.3530 TR.4419	**64**
17–07–1970	Acquired from the antiquarian Edgar Beer (Brussels).	O.3602	**60**
26–03–1991	Formerly in a Düsseldorf collection (said to be from "Turkey, Anatolia").	O.4622	**54**
26–03–1991	*ibid.* (*ibid.*)	O.4623	**10**
26–03–1991	*ibid.* (*ibid.*)	O.4625	**80**

Index of keywords

The keywords in this chart refer to the 80 seal images studied in the catalogue and not to those further seals which are indicated to be related to them. The keywords are grouped under the following terms, which provide the main elements of the description and allow us to study and compare them to other seals. The modern objects, *i.e.* forgeries (**75–80**) are designated by exclamation marks.

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4.1. Deities and heroes
- Adad: **64**, **65**
- Enkidu: **38**
- genius: **48**, **59**
- Gilgamesh: **38**, **39**(?)
- god: **39** (armed god), **67**, **71** (armed god [probably Aššur]), **75**$^{!}$, **77**$^{!}$, **79**$^{!}$ (on a hybrid creature)
- goddess: **58** (probably), **69**, **75**$^{!}$
- Gula: **64**, **65** (or Ištar), **78**$^{!}$ (probably)
- hero: **30** (winged), **31**, **32** (winged), **33** (winged), **34**, **35**, **36**, **37**, **40** (winged), **41** (winged), **76**$^{!}$ (winged)
- Ištar: **39**(?) (naked female figure), **57** (presumably), **61**, **65** (or Gula), **66**, **68** (armed), **70** (armed), **71** (armed)
- Nabû: **79**$^{!}$
- Šamaš: **71**
- winged naked goddess: **44**

4.2. Mythical and hybrid creatures
- bird-griffin: **16**, **17**, **25** (two), **31**, **32**, **34**
- Bull of Heaven, see human-headed winged bull
- goat-fish (*šuḫurmāšu*): **72**
- human-faced winged ibex: **35** (two), **76**$^{!}$
- human-headed bird: **20**
- human-headed bird-fish: **18**
- human-headed bird-scorpion: **22**
- human-headed winged bull (*aladlammû*): **12**, **19**, **38** (Bull of Heaven)
- human-headed winged lion (*šēdu*): **11**, **15**, **26**, **27** (two), **29** (two), **33**, **41** (two)
- hybrid creature: **75**$^{!}$, **79**$^{!}$, **80**$^{!}$(?) (lion-headed eagle [Imdugud] or a vessel with two handles)
- lion-dragon: **73**
- lion-headed eagle (Imdugud): **80**$^{!}$(?)
- lion-griffin: **13**, **14**, **15**
- mušḫuššu-dragon: **66**
- scorpion-tailed bird-man (winged scorpion-man): **13**, **14**

- sphinx, see human-headed winged lion
- winged bull: **16**, **17**, **36**, **65**
- winged lion: **76**$^!$

4.3. Human figures

- archer: **1** (on horseback), **3**, **4**, **5**, **6**, **7**, **8**, **9**, **10**, **11**, **12** (kneeling on one knee)
- attendant: **49**, **50**, **51**, **52**, **53**, **54**, **55**, **56**, **Appendix**
- female figure: **39** (naked), **56** (probably), **73** (worshipper)
- horseman: **1**
- king: **49**, **50**, **51**, **52**(?), **53**, **54**, **55**, **Appendix**
- priest: **61**, **62** (two), **72**
- spearman: **2** (on horseback)
- standard-holder: **48**
- worshipper (see priest above): **42** (two), **43** (two), **44**, **45**, **46** (two), **47** (two), **48**, **57**, **58**, **59**, **60**, **63** (armed), **64**, **65** (bearded and beardless), **66**, **67** (male and female), **68**, **69**, **70** (three), **71**, **73** (female), **74**, **75**$^!$, **77**$^!$, **78**$^!$, **79**$^{!,}$ **80**$^!$ (two)

4.4. Animals

- animal: **78**$^!$ (probably dog)
- bird: **3** (bird of prey), **7**, **26** (two), **46**, **56** (on a banquet table), **57**(?) (part of offering), **64**
- boar: **7**
- bull: **1**, **3** (two), **9**, **18**, **19**, **22**, **39**, **64**, **65**, **Appendix**
- caprid: **48** (unfinished)
- cock: **28**
- deer: **2**
- dog: **64**, **65** (or lion), **78**$^!$
- fish: **12**, **13**, **15**, **22**, **41**, **43**, **44**, **45**, **59** (offering), **60**, **63** (two fish offerings), **68**, **70**, **74**
- fly: **43** (unfinished fly or half rhomb)
- gazelle (see wild goat also): **8**, **10**, **45**, **75**$^!$ (or gazelle)
- horse: **1**, **2**
- hound: **5**, **6**, **7**
- lion: **37** (two), **40**, **65** (or dog), **Appendix**
- monkey: **22**, **41**
- mouflon (see wild goat below): **6**
- ostrich-like bird: **20**, **21** (two)
- wild goat (see gazelle also): **4**, **5**, **28**, **30**, **40** (reclining), **57**, **58** , **62**, **70**, **75**$^!$ (or gazelle)
- wild goat (or mouflon): 23 (two), 24 (two)

4.5. Plants

- “bottle-brush” tree: **11**, **29**, **47**, **49**, **50**, **51**, **52**, **53**
- cactus-like plant: **40**
- *fleur-de-lys*: **39**
- palm tree: **43**
- palmette: **26**, **34**, **42**, **46**, **47**
- pine tree: **28**
- plant: **3**; **4** (stylised)
- pomegranate: **26**
- rosette (*ayyaru*): **39** (pattern on textile)
- stylised tree: **12**, **19**, **26**, **27**, **34**, **42**, **44**, **46**, **47**, **48**, **74**, **80**$^!$
- tree: **7**, **30**

4.6. Furniture

- brazier (incense burner): **22**, **68**, **78**$^!$
- chair or throne: **54**, **55**, **56** (high-backed), **57** (high-backed with three stars), **58** (high-backed), **62**, **65**, **69** (high-backed)
- cult dais (*parakku*): **72**
- cultic niche: **64**, **78**$^!$
- folding table: **12**, **55** (with bull’s feet), **58**, **59**, **60**
- parasol: **Appendix**
- stand (see pot-stand in vessels)
- table: **56** (banquet), **57** (offering), **62** (offering, with bull’s feet)
- trident-shaped object: **Appendix**
- tripod: **61** (incense burner)
- throne see chair

4.7. Vessels

- cup (*phiala*): **49** (shallow cup), **50**, **51** (shallow cup), **52**, **53**, **54**, **55** (shallow cup with disc foot)
- pot: **56** (transformed into a star with a globe in the middle), (see pot-stand)
- pot-stand: **49**, **50**, **51** (double), **52**, **53**, **54**, **55**, **56**

- vessel: **12** (globular rimmed vessel [*aryballos*]), **12** (beak-spouted vessel), **24** (two closely spaced parallel lines above an oval shaped hollow), **36** (beak-spouted vessel), **79!** (beak-spouted vessel); **80!** (vessel with two handles or a flying hybrid creature)

4.8. Weapons
- axe: **39**, **65**, **71**
- bow: **1**, **3**, **4**, **5**, **6**, **7**, **8**, **9**, **10**, **11**, **12**, **13**, **14**, **39**, **49**, **50**, **51**, **52**, **53**, **63**
- dagger (see sword)
- mace (see mace in 4.9. symbols and motifs also): **39**
- scabbard (see sheath)
- scimitar (sickle sword): **30**, **32**, **33**, **34**, **40**
- sheath: **31**, **49**, **50**, **52**, **62**, **65**, **71**, **75!**, **79!**
- spear: **2**
- sword or dagger (see sheat): **2**, **9**, **10**, **31**, **34**, **37**, **38**, **43**, **49**, **62**, **63**, **65**, **68**, **70**, **71**

4.9. Symbols and motifs
- ankh symbol (ankh-sign): **34**, **58**
- astral symbol: **48** (formed with a single hole)
- bucranium: **70**, **74**
- crook: **62**, **72** (symbol of Ea)
- crescent moon (see standard surmounted by a crescent moon): **3**, **4**, **5**, **6**, **10**, **11**, **13**, **14**, **15**, **16**, **17**, **18** (a small, deep engraving seemingly designates it), **19**, **28**, **29**, **30**, **31**, **33**, **34**, **36**, **37**, **39** (jewellery), **43**, **44** (on a standard), **45**, **47**, **48**, **55**, **56**, **57**, **60** (on a standard), **62**, **63**, **64**, **65**, **66**, **68**, **70** (on a standard), **71**, **72**, **74**, **75!**, **76!**, **77!**, **78!**
- *fleur-de-lys*: **39**
- globe tipped horizontal symbol: **12**
- globe with eight rays: **42**, **49**, **55**, **64**
- mace: **62**, **67**, **79!** (terminating in a sharp end)
- Marduk's symbol, see tasselled spade
- nine holes: **44** (on a standard)
- rhomb: **11**, **12**, **26** (two rhomboid motifs), **29**, **32**, **34**, **36**, **43**, **43** (half rhomb or unfinished fly), **44**, **45**, **47**, **58**, **60**, **64**, **69**, **71**, **74**, **76!** (two), **78!**
- ring (held in hand): **64** (beaded ring), **68** (beaded ring), **70** (beaded ring), **71** (beaded ring), **75!** (beaded ring), **77!**, **79!**
- Sibitti (Pleiades): **12**, **36**, **43**, **51**, **57**, **58**, **62**, **64**, **66**, **68**, **69**, **70**, **74**, **75!**
- spade (*marru*, tasselled spade, Marduk's symbol): **42**, **54**, **59**, **64**, **65**, **66**, **68**, **70**, **71**, **74**, **75!**, **77!**
- standard: **44** (surmounted by a crescent moon), **44** (surmounted by the symbol with nine holes), **48** (pole surmounted by a single hole), **60** (surmounted by a tasselled crescent moon), **70** (surmounted by a tasselled crescent moon), **79!** (surmounted by a hole)
- star (see globe with eight rays above):
- eight-pointed star: **17**, **18**, **19**, **30**, **46**, **51**, **62**, **75!**
- eight-pointed star with a globe in the middle: **50**, **56**, **58**, **60**, **63**, **65**, **68**, **69**, **71**, **74**
- eight-pointed star with grooved rays: **77!**
- row of stars on the divine throne and/or on the cultic niche: **57** (three eight-pointed stars), **64** (three), **78!** (seven)
- four-pointed star: **20** (or oblique-shaped cross), **43**
- **42** (formed by a globe with eight rays)
- **66** (larger drill-hole denoting the globe of a star with only one ray visible, below it)
- six-pointed star: **1** (two), **10**, **11** (two), **13**, **14**, **16**, **23**, **24**, **28**, **32**, **33**, **43** (irregular), **47**, **54**, **70**, **80!**
- six-pointed star with a globe in the middle: **3**, **15**, **36**, **44**, **45**, **59**
- **56** (globular body of a pot-stand transformed into a star with a globe in the middle and encircled with five rays, and the stand of which composes the lowest ray)
- stylus (symbol of Nabû): **54**, **59**, **65**, **66**, **68**, **71**, **77!**, **79!** (held by Nabû)
- sun:
- winged sun: **43**, **48**(?)
- winged sun-disc: **12**, **34**, **42**, **44**, **45**, **46**, **47**, **57**, **58** (with flaring tail), **59**, **60**, **64**, **65**, **71** (on the headdress of Šamaš), **76!** (with a flaring tail), **78!**, **80!**

- symbol with nine holes: **43** (on standard)
- trident-shaped object: **6**. **Appendix**
- wedge-shaped motif (see cuneiform sign in 4.10. EPIGRAPHS): **3** (three), **4** (two), **19** (double vertical), **27**, **29** (double), **31**(?), **49**, **51**, **54** (upright), **55**, **64** (double)

4.10. EPIGRAPHS
- cuneiform sign (see wedge-shaped motif in 4.9. SYMBOLS AND MOTIFS): **26** (NU), **62** (MAŠ)
- cuneiform inscription: **38** (Akkadian), **63** (Neo-Elamite), **67** (Akkadian), **Appendix** (Urartian)
- alphabetic inscription: **59** (Aramaic?), **61** (Arabian), **65** (Aramaic)

4.11. SPECIAL DECORATIVE PATTERNS, ICONOGRAPHIC FEATURES, AND STYLISTIC DETAILS
- Babylonian posture: **32**, **34**, **38**, **40**, **41**
- band of dotted squares: **38**, **39**
- centre-dot circle eye: **9**, **25**
- chevron border: **55** (top and bottom borders oriented in inverse directions)
- diagonal hatchings: **3** (the borders framing the scene at the top and bottom)
- guilloche borders: **15**
- inverted V-shapes: **40**
- mountain: **1** (formed by a triangular geometric motif)
- rosette (*ayyaru*): **39**
- triangles (row of little triangles, imitations of the gold mounts providing the borders of the scene): **26**

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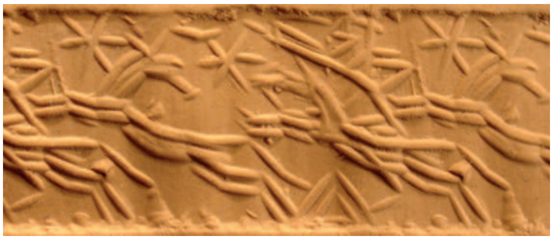
PLATES



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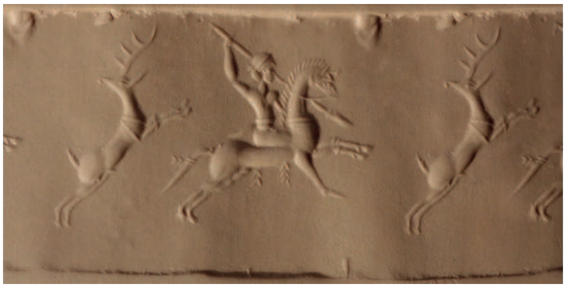

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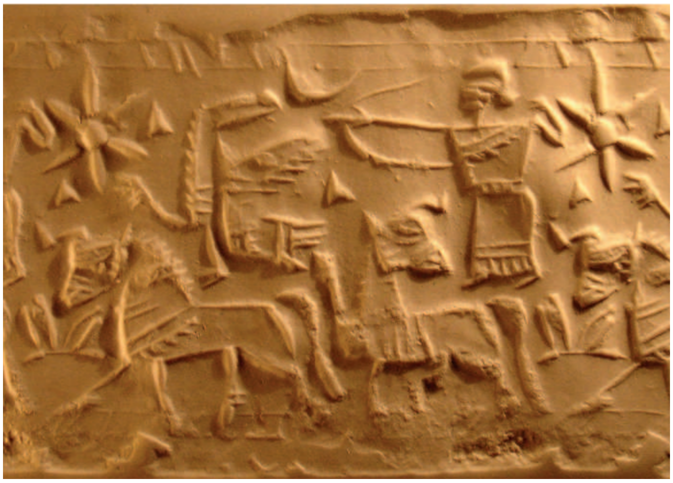

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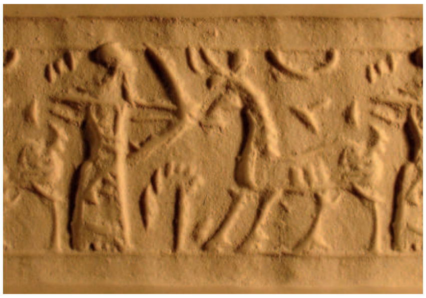

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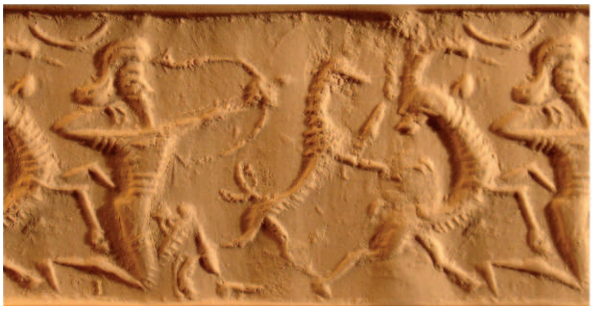

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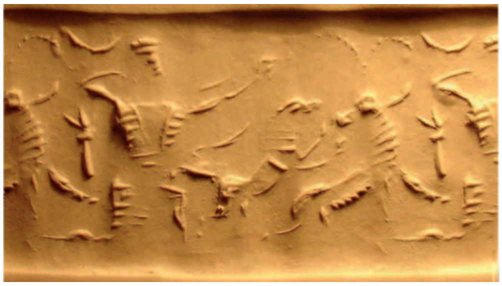

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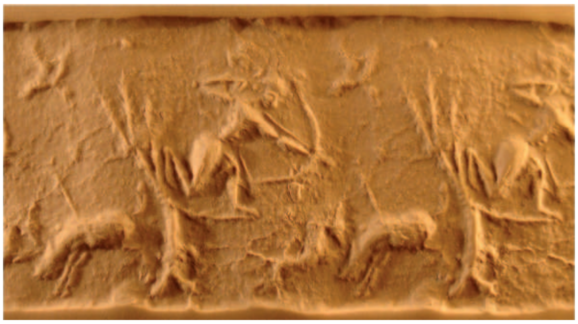

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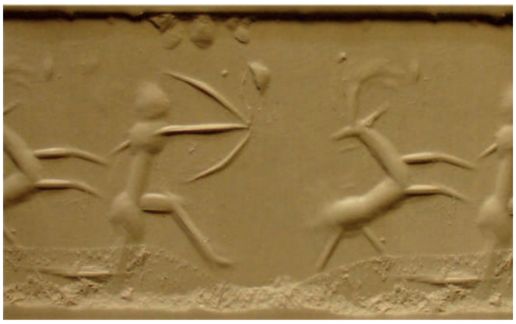

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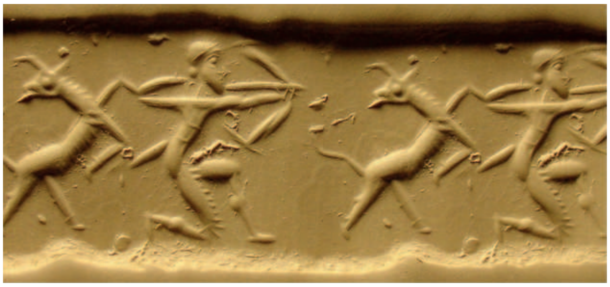

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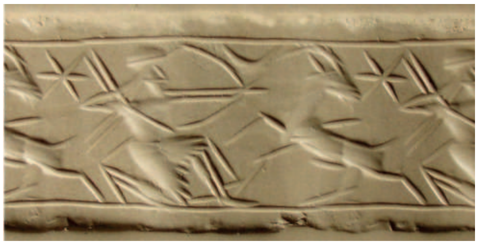

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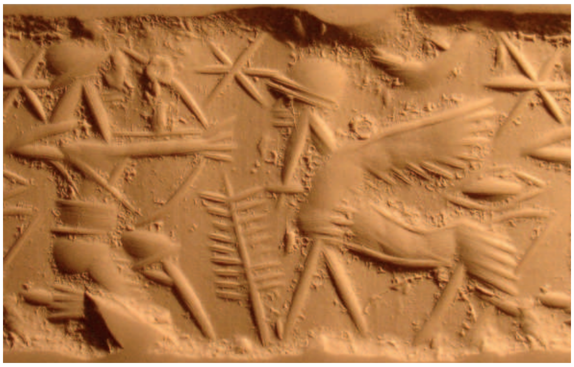

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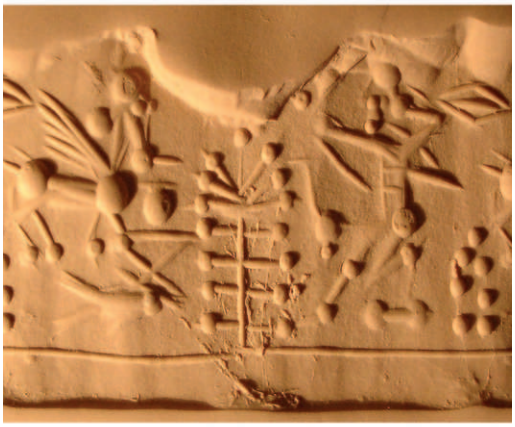

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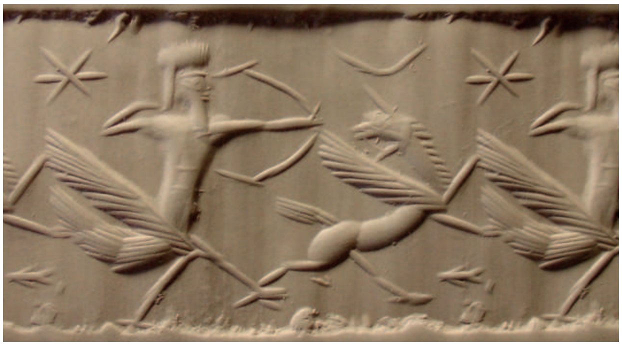

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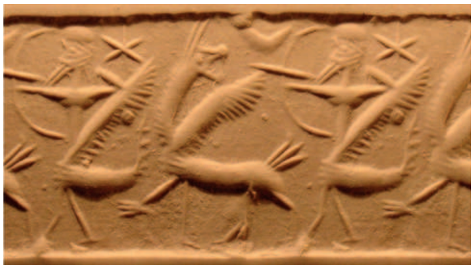

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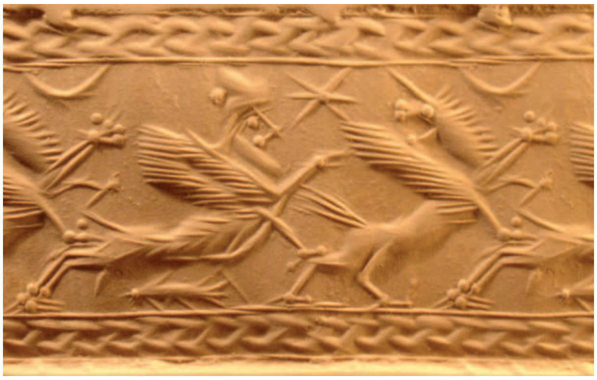

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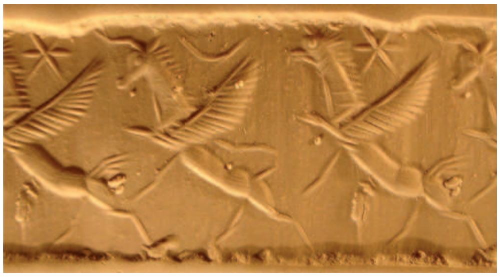

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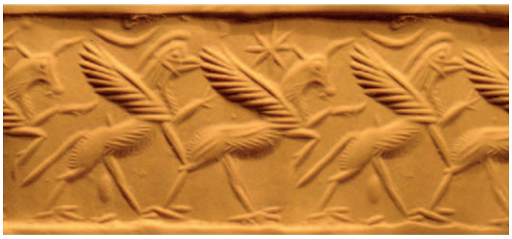

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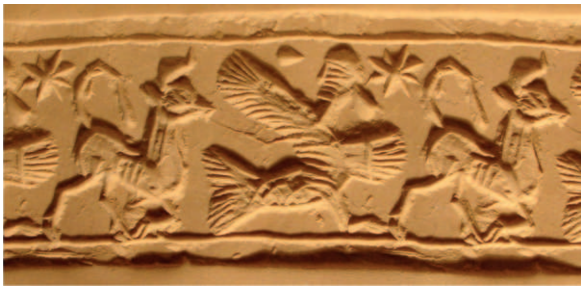

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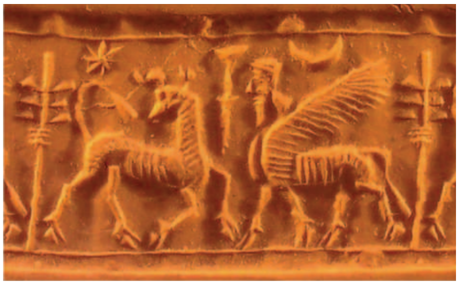

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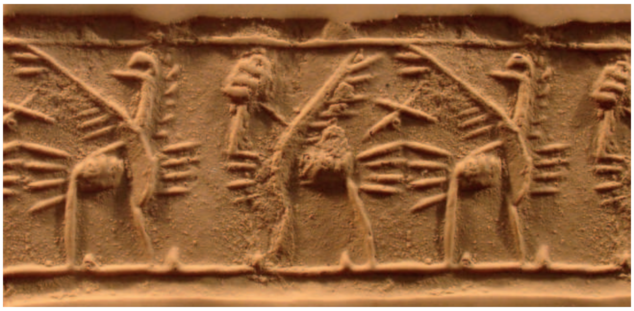

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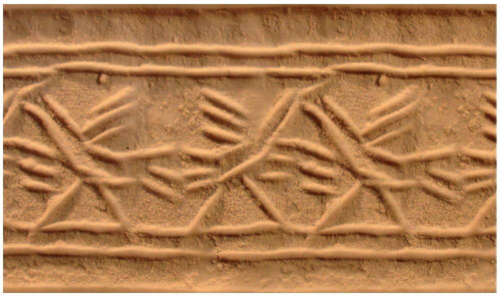

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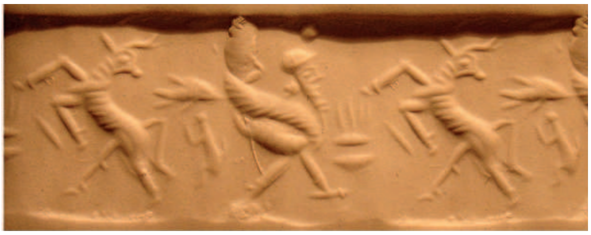

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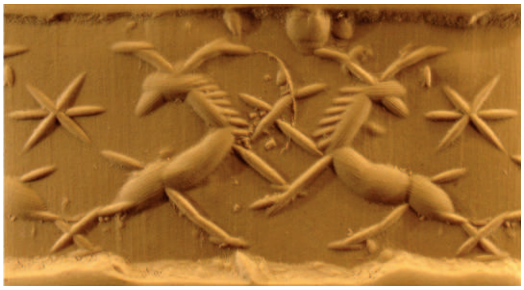

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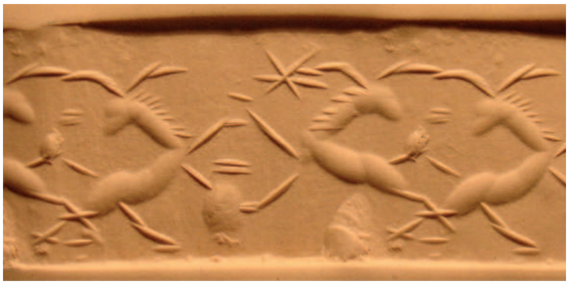

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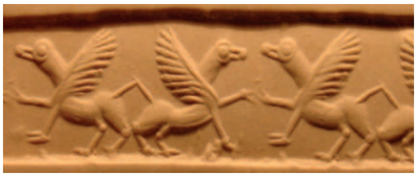

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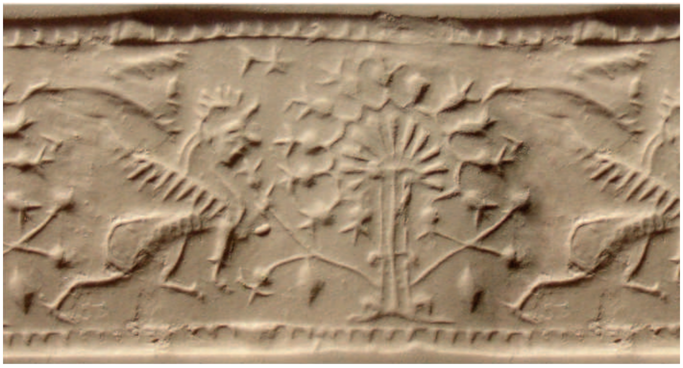

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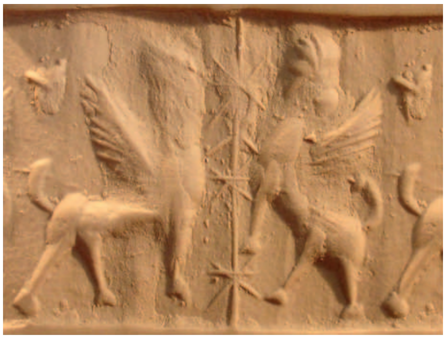

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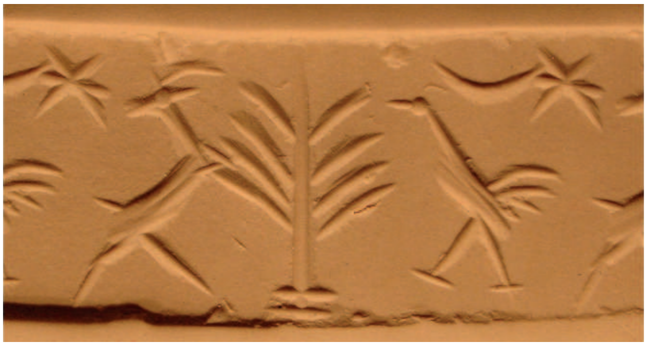

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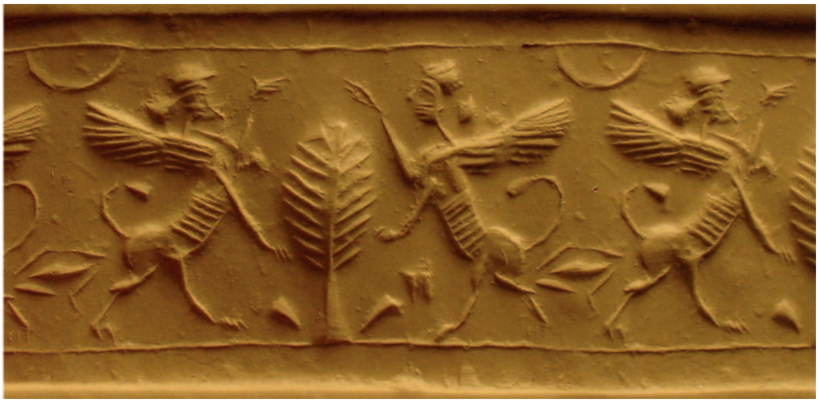

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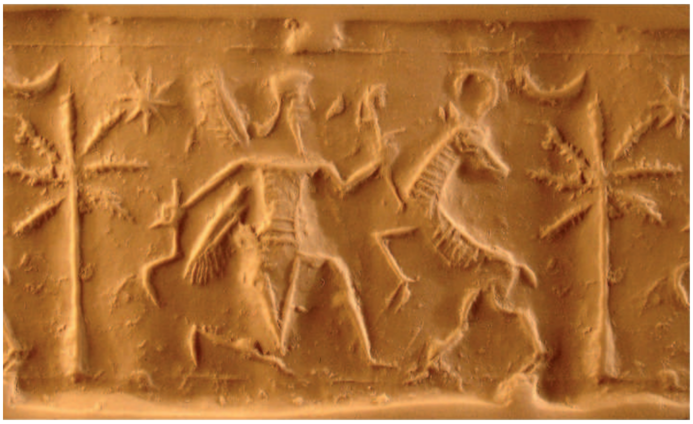

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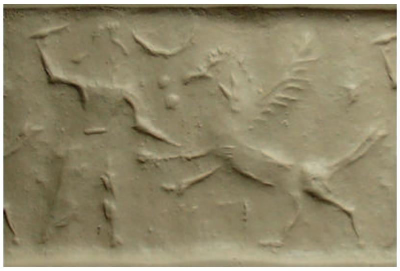

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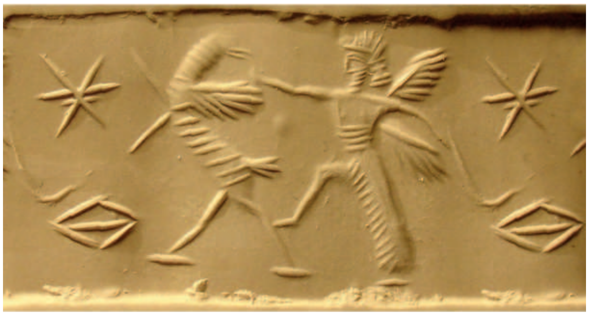

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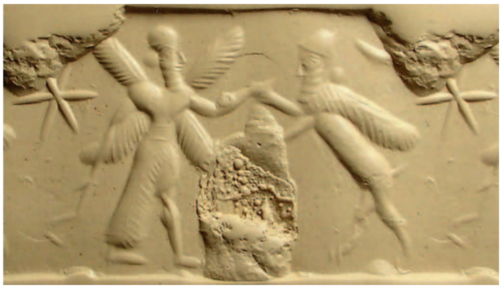

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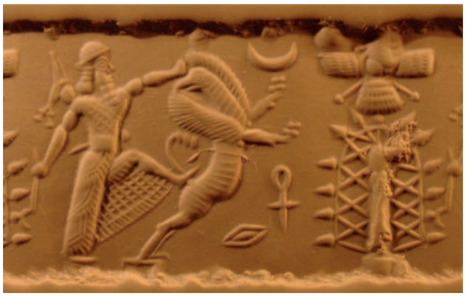

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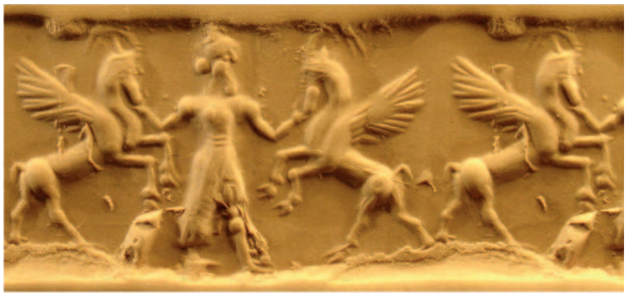

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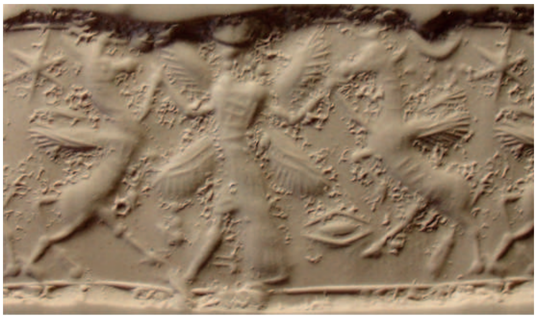

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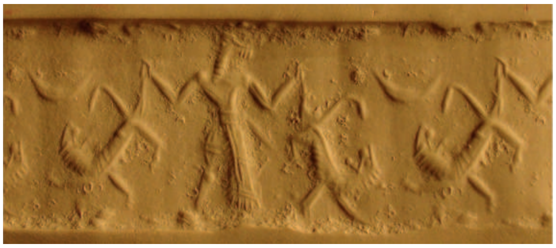

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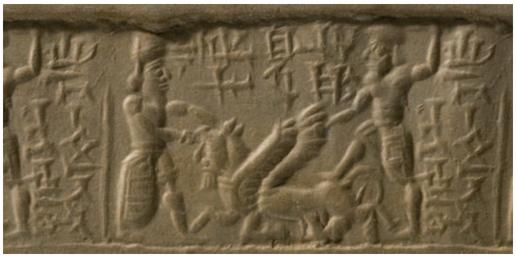

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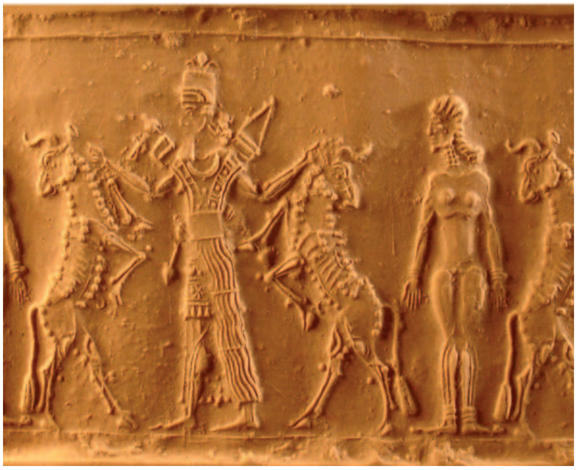

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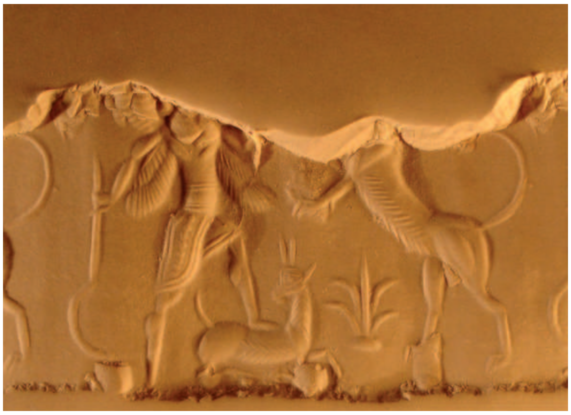

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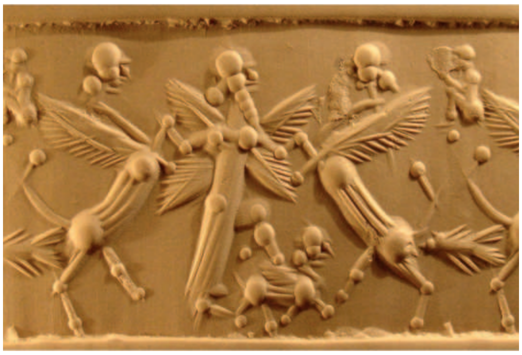

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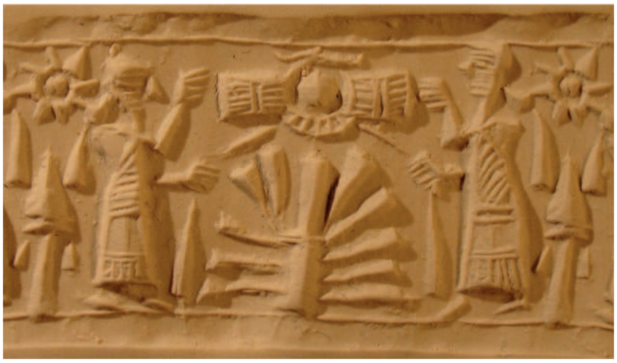

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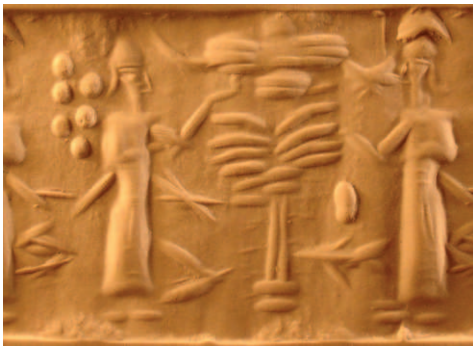

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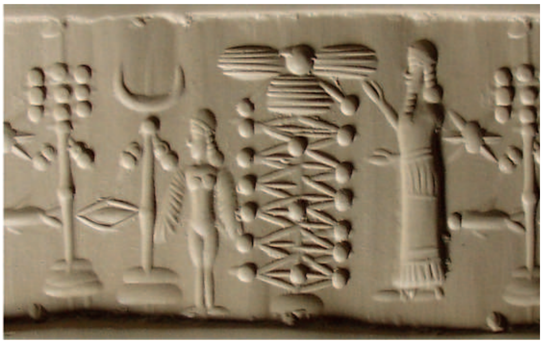
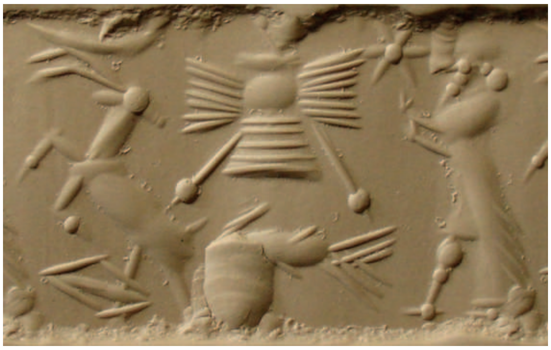
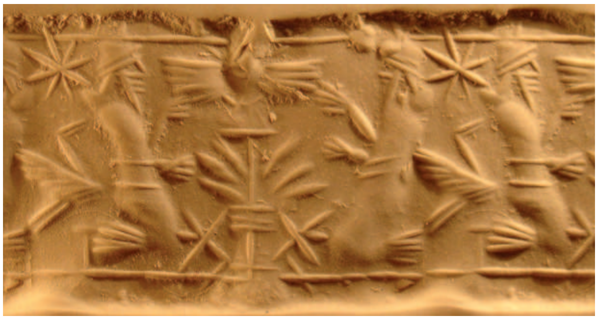


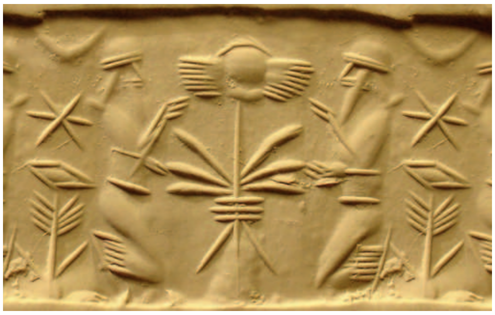
44 (O.788)



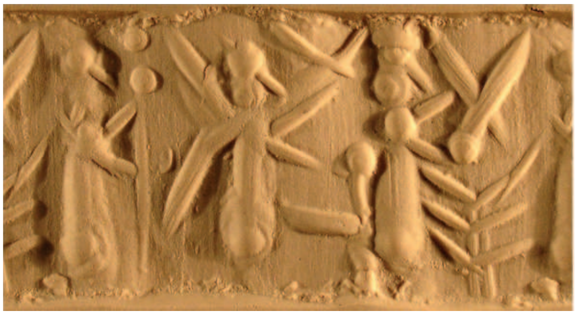
45 (O.2761)



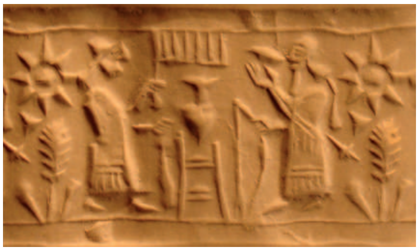
46 (O.431)



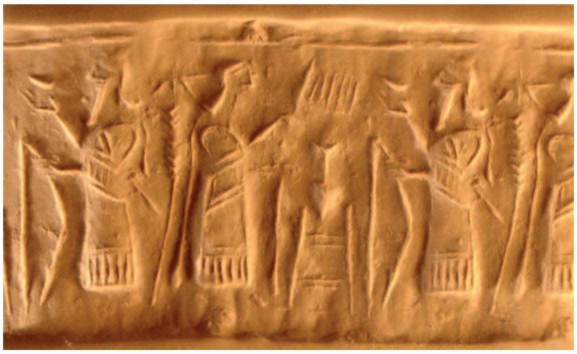
47 (O.2750)



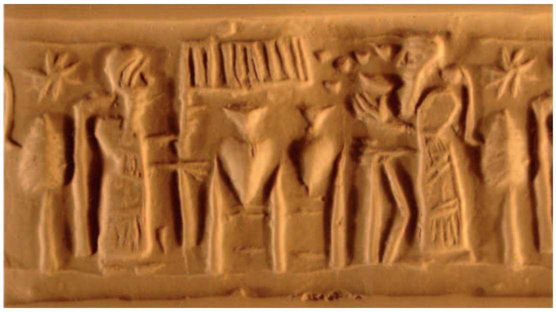
48 (O.2745)



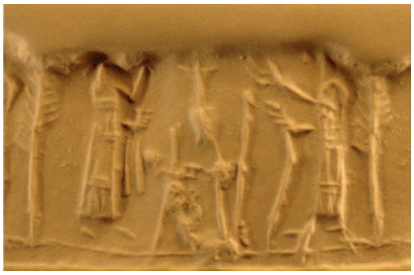
49 (O.1636)



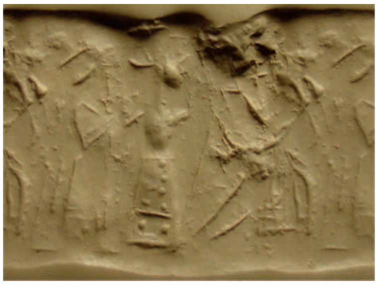
50 (O.786)



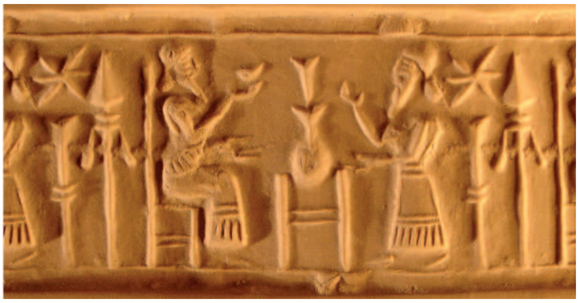
51 (O.2753)



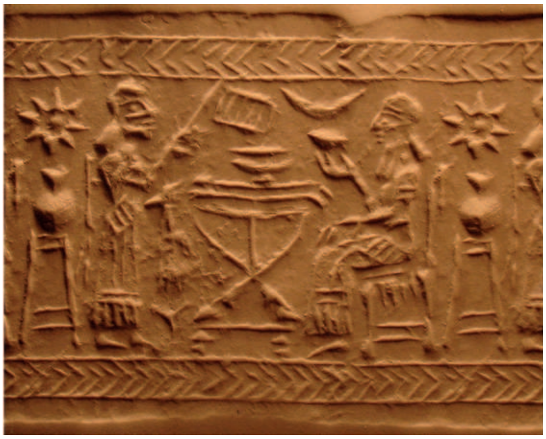
52 (O.1633)



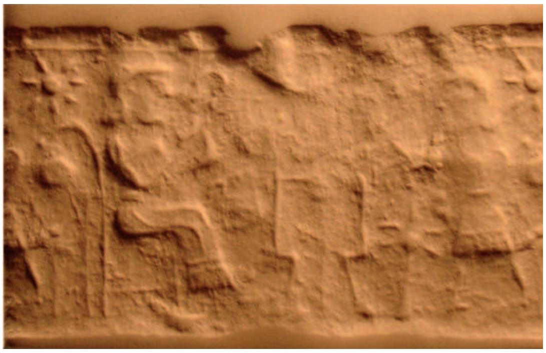
53 (O.1634)



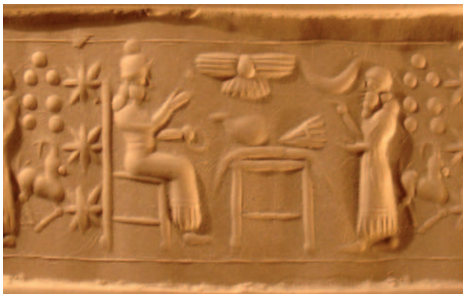
54 (O.4622)



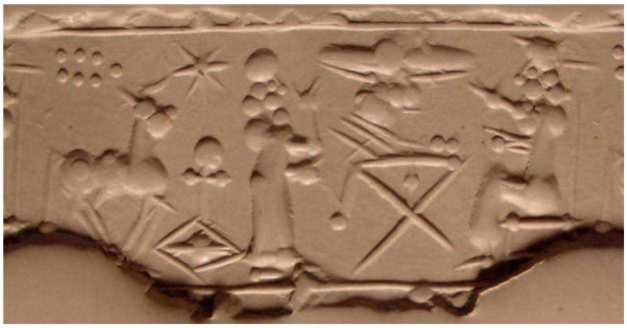
55 (O.1816)



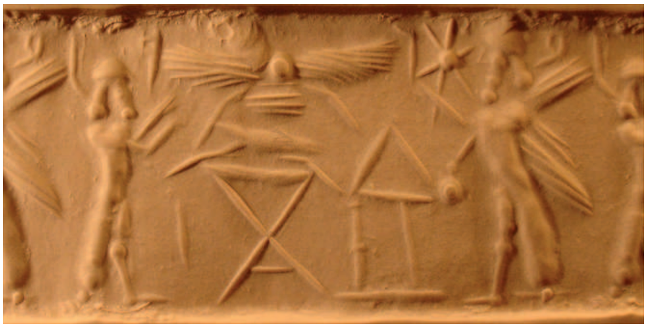
56 (O.787)



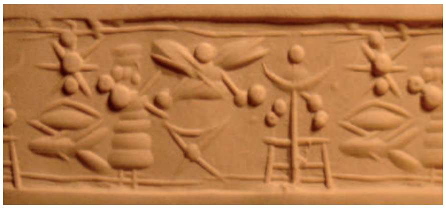
57 (O.1475)



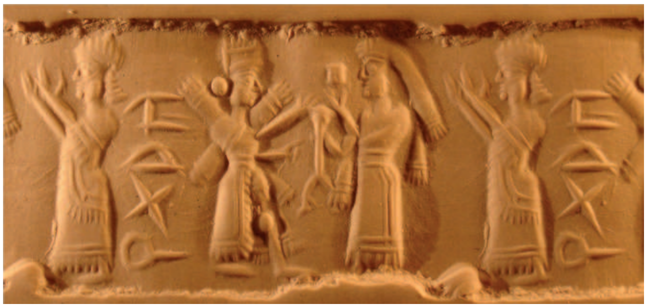
58 (O.2749)



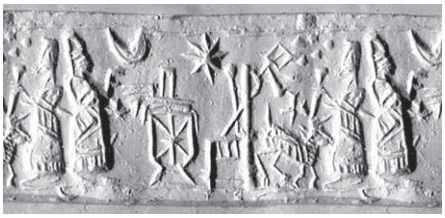
59 (O.1042)



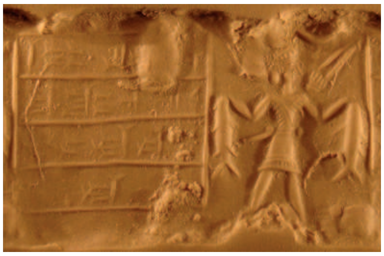
60 (O.3602)



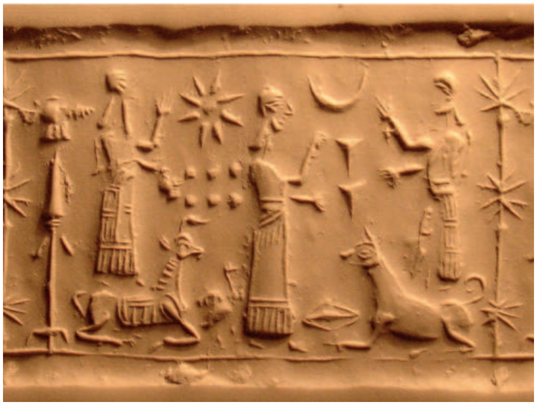
61 (O.1464)



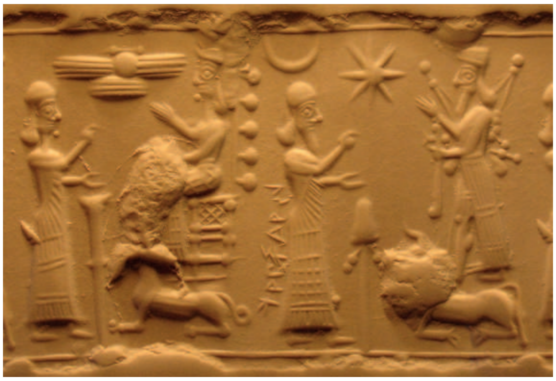
62 (O.465)



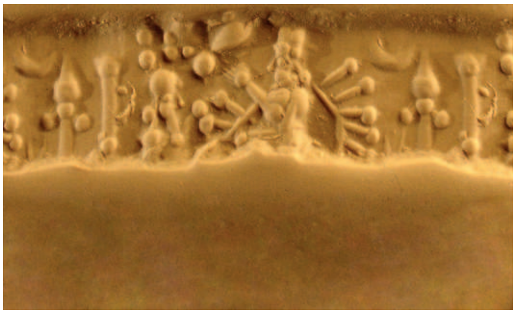
63 (O.1472)



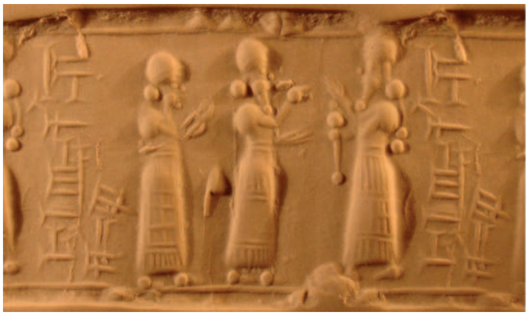
64 (O.3530)



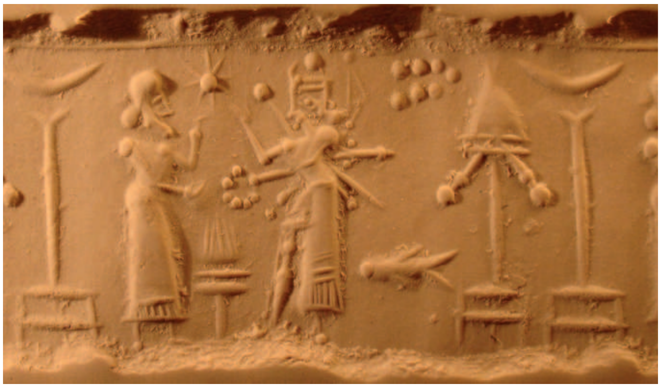
65 (O.1499)



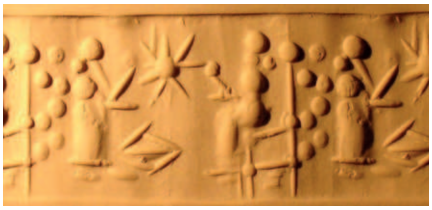
66 (O.1637)



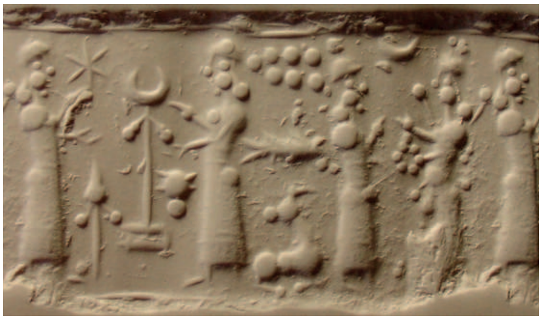
67 (O.562)



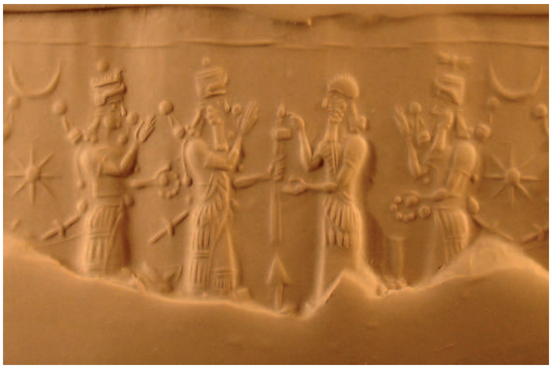
68 (O.1473)



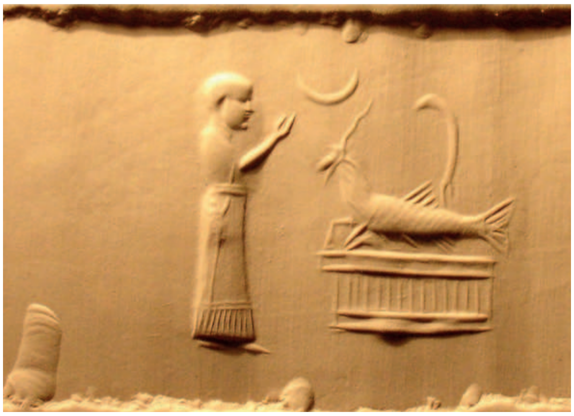
69 (O.2755)



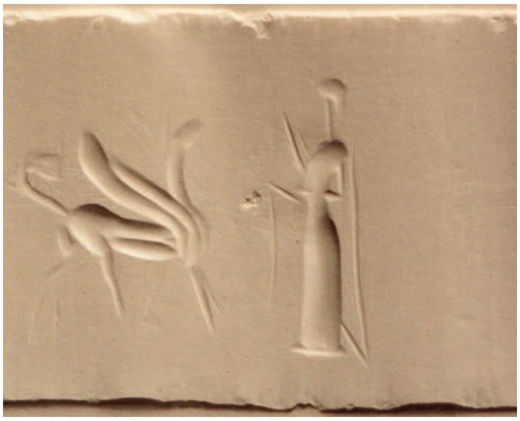
70 (O.1500)



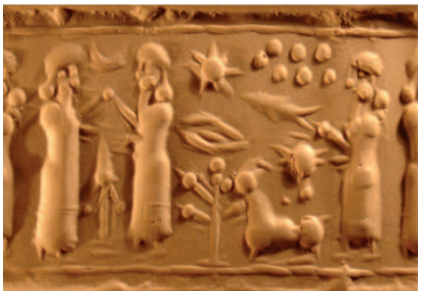
71 (O.2748)



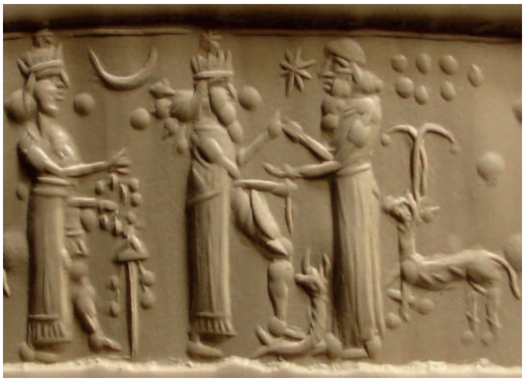
72 (O.2776)



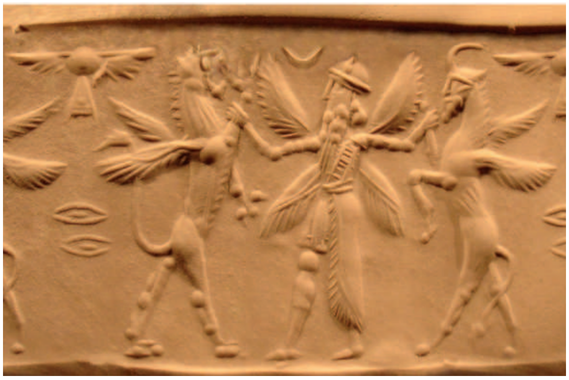
73 (O.2780)



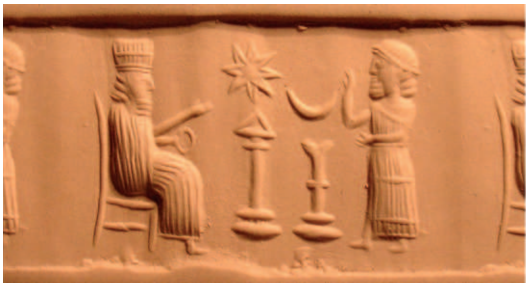
74 (O.2758)



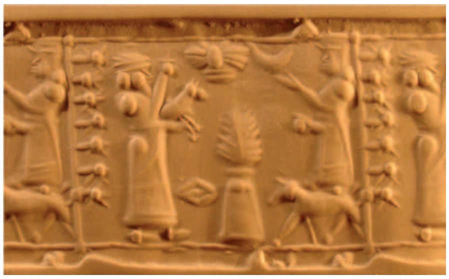
75 (O.560)



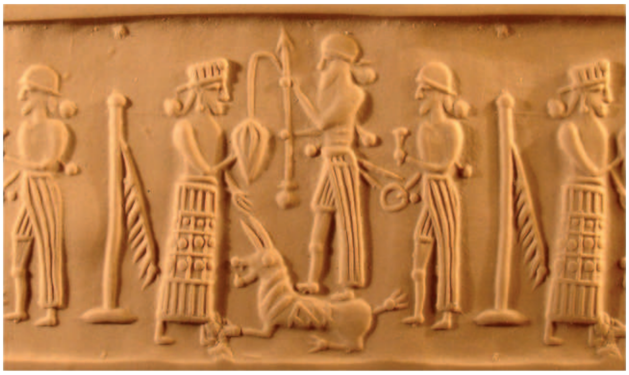
76 (O.553)



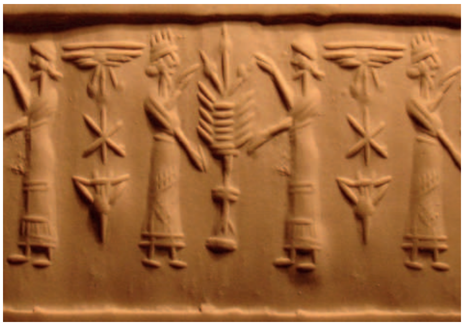
77 (O.1737)



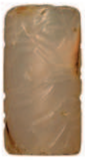
78 (O.2766)



79 (O.2802)



80 (O.4625)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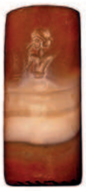
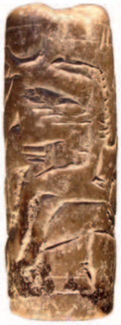
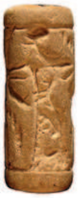
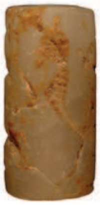
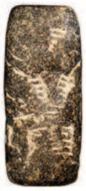
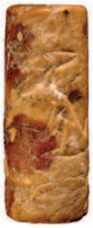

2 (O.1474)

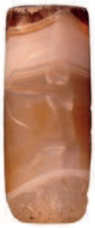

3 (O.2764)

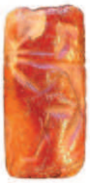

4 (O.2757)

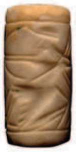

5 (O.2771)

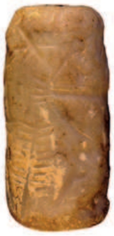

6 (O.2680, ND 5368)

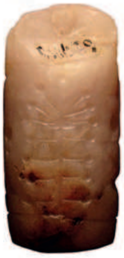

7 (O.2783)

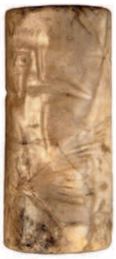

8 (O.2781)

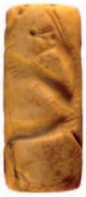

9 (O.2782)

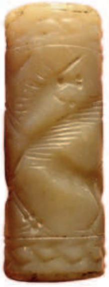

10 (O.4623)

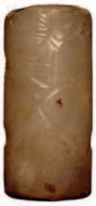

11 (O.2751)

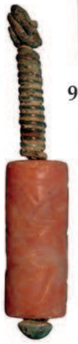

12 (O.1479)

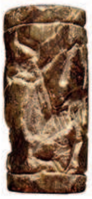

13 (O.434)

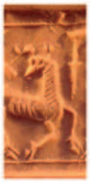

14 (O.2806)

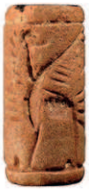

15 (O.1478)

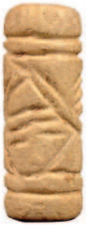

16 (O.1638)


17 (O.2762)


18 (O.569)


19 (O.675)


20 (O.2807)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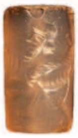
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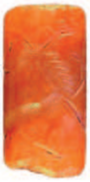
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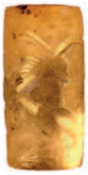
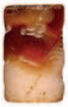
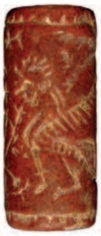

24 (O.2774)


25 (O.1809)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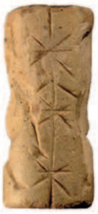
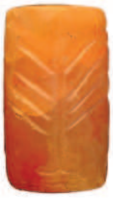

27 (O.2767)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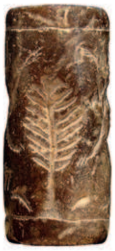
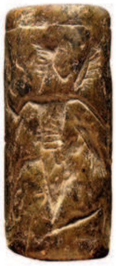
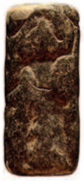
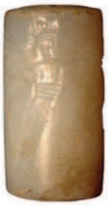

29 (O.2752)


30 (O.2754)


31 (O.1632)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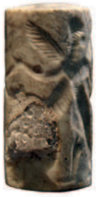
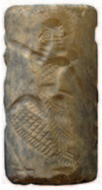
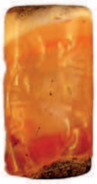
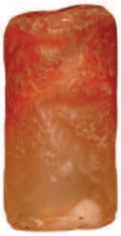
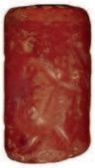
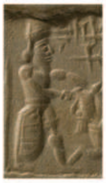

33 (O.2760)

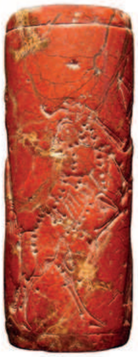

34 (O.1486)

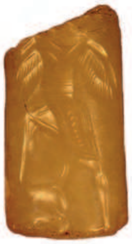

35 (IR.866)

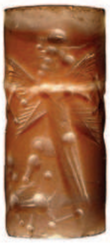

36 (O.568)

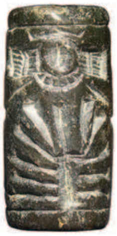

37 (O.2759)

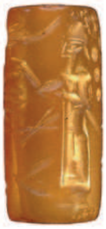

38 (O.1388)

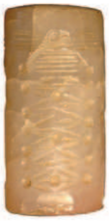

39 (O.1032)

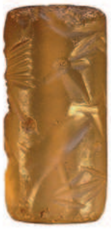

40 (O.477)

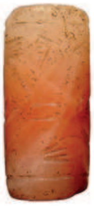

41 (O.2756)

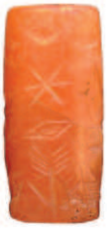

42 (O.460)

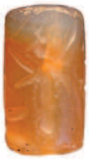

43 (O.567)

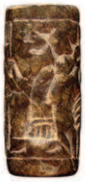

44 (O.788)

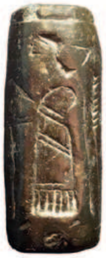

45 (O.2761)

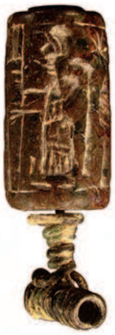

46 (O.431)

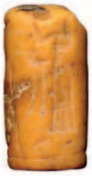

47 (O.2750)

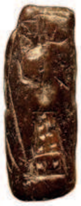

48 (O.2745)

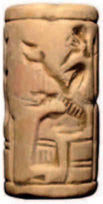

49 (O.1636)

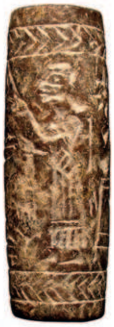

50 (O.786)

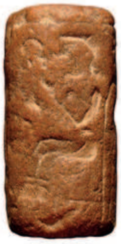

51 (O.2753)

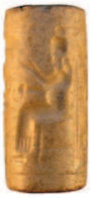

52 (O.1633)

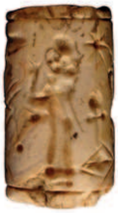

53 (O.1634)

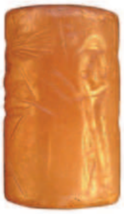

54 (O.4622)

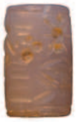

55 (O.1816)

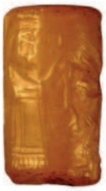

56 (O.787)

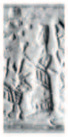

57 (O.1475)

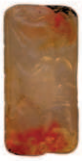

58 (O.2749)

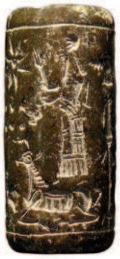

59 (O.1042)

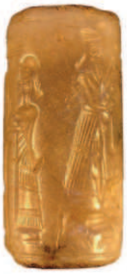

60 (O.3602)

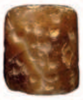

61 (O.1464)

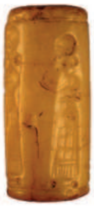

62 (O.465)

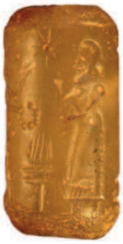

63 (O.1472)

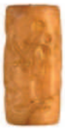

64 (O.3530)

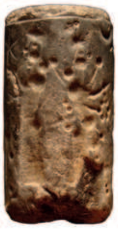

65 (O.1499)

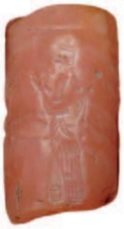

66 (O.1637)

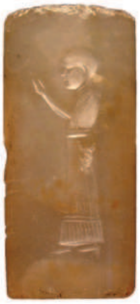

67 (O.562)

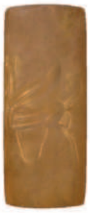

68 (O.1473)

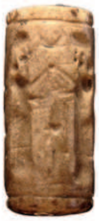

69 (O.2755)

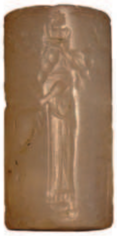

70 (O.1500)

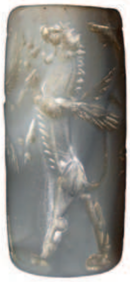

71 (O.2748)

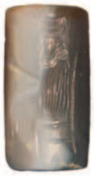

72 (O.2776)

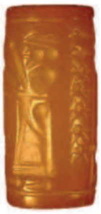

73 (O.2780)

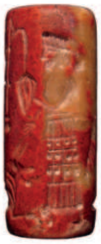

74 (O.2758)

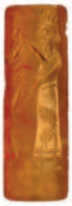

75 (O.560)

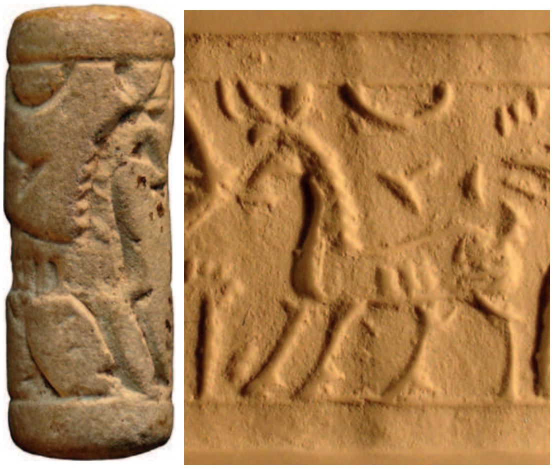

76 (O.553)


77 (O.1737)

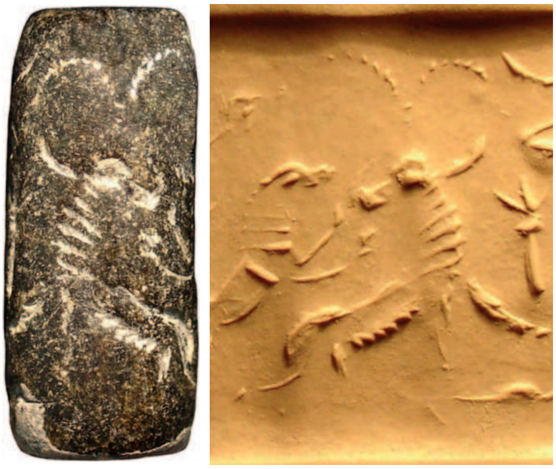

78 (O.2766)


79 (O.2802)

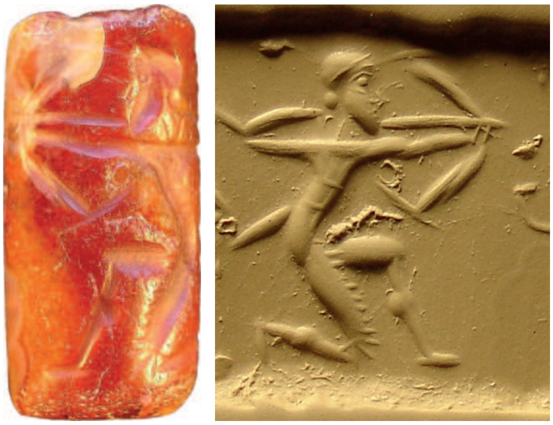

80 (O.4625)



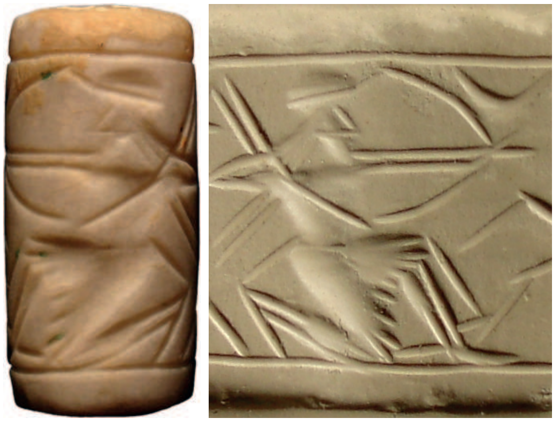
4 (O.2757)



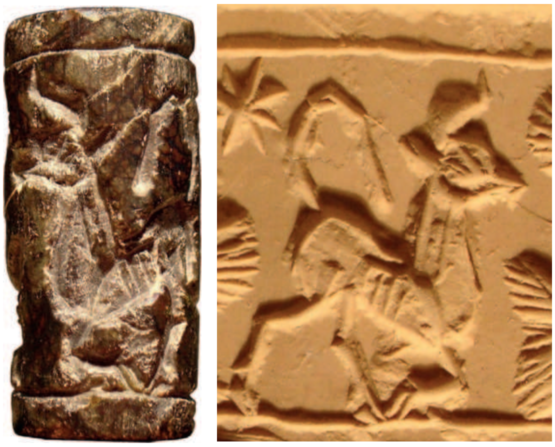
6 (O.2680, ND 5368)



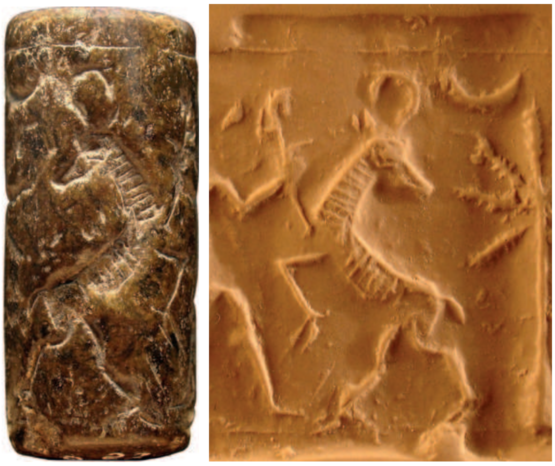
9 (O.2782)



10 (O.4623)



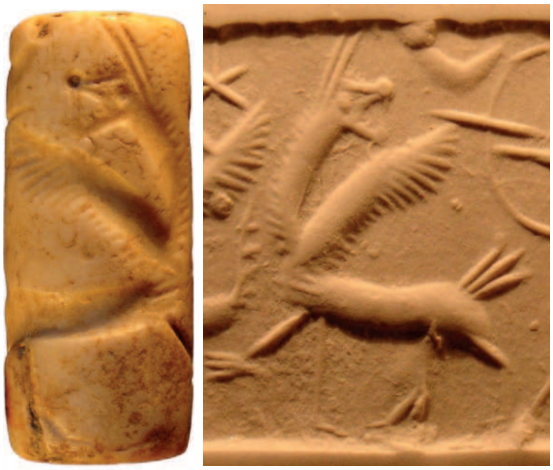
18 (O.569)

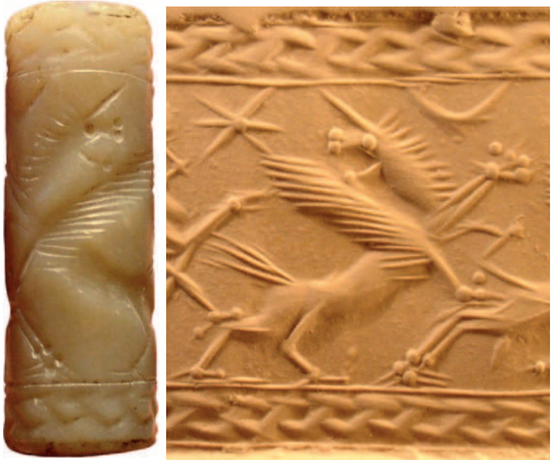


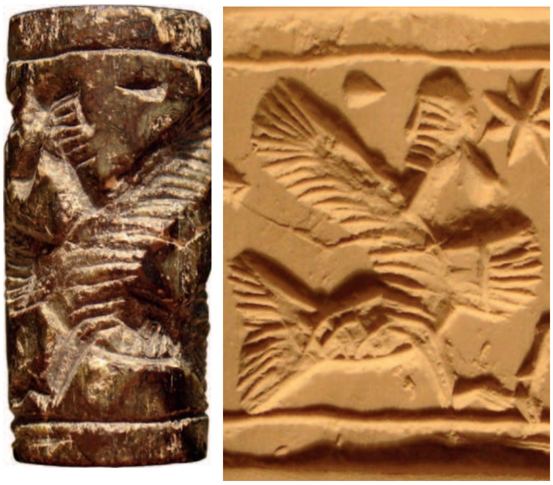
30 (O.2754)

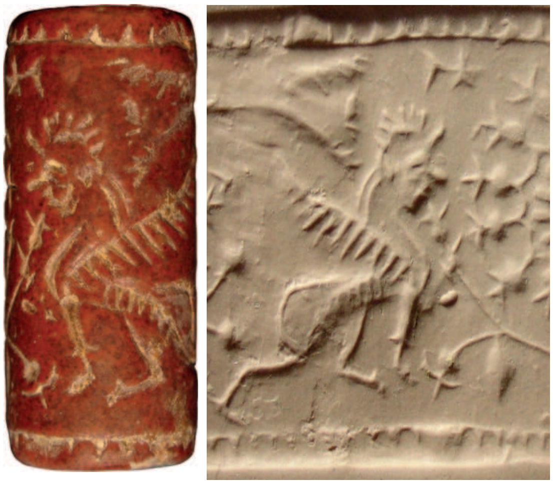
Plate 17

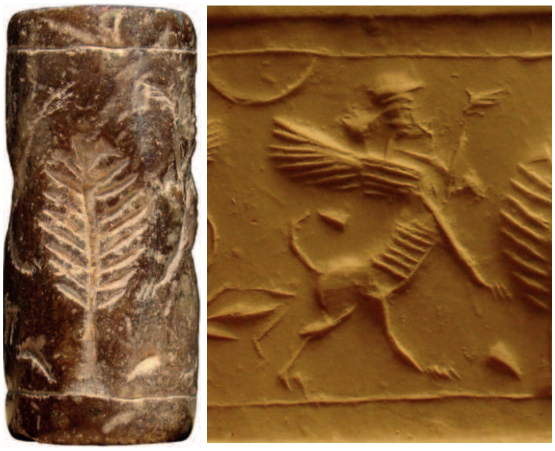
Details of selected cylinder seals and their modern impressions 2 – mythical and hybrid creatures

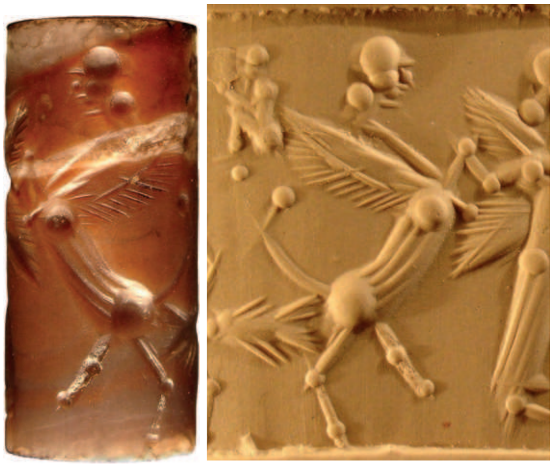

14 (O.2806)


15 (O.1478)


18 (O.569)

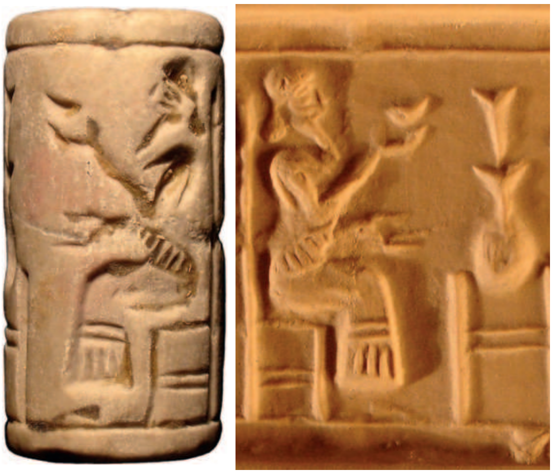

26 (O.2770)

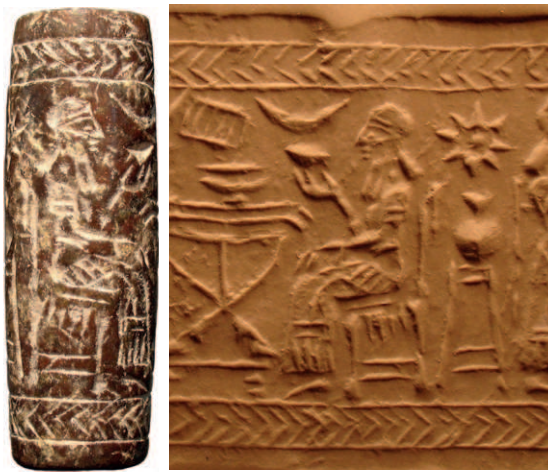

29 (O.2752)

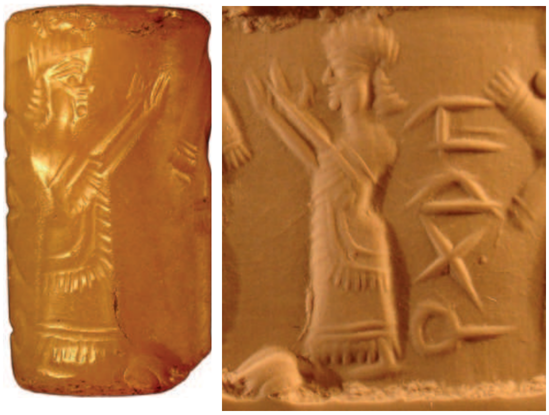

41 (O.2756)

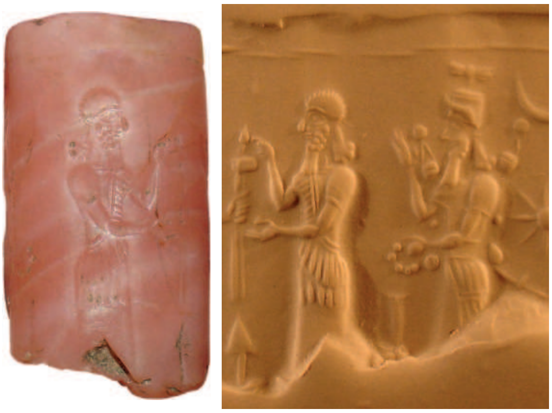
Details of selected cylinder seals and their modern impressions 3 – human figures

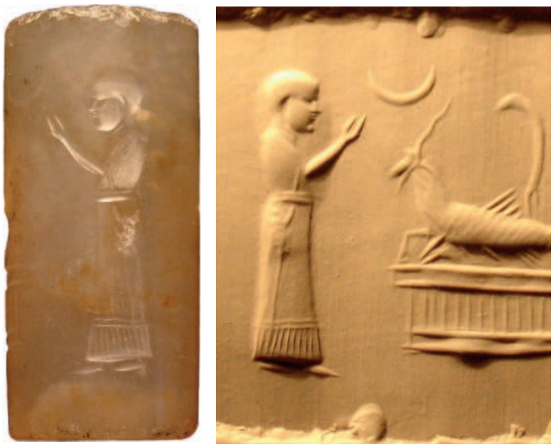
Plate 18


54 (O.4622)


55 (O.1816)


61 (O.1464)


71 (O.2748)


72 (O.2776)

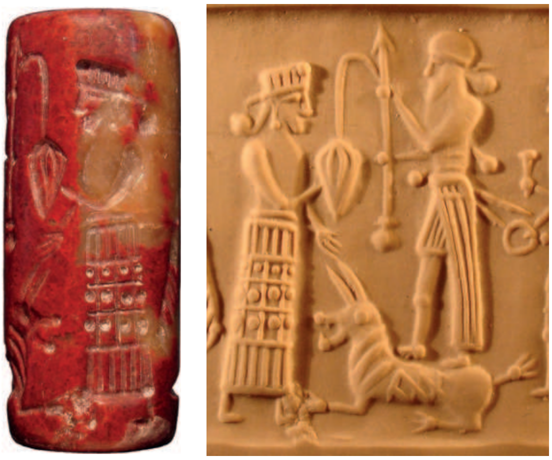
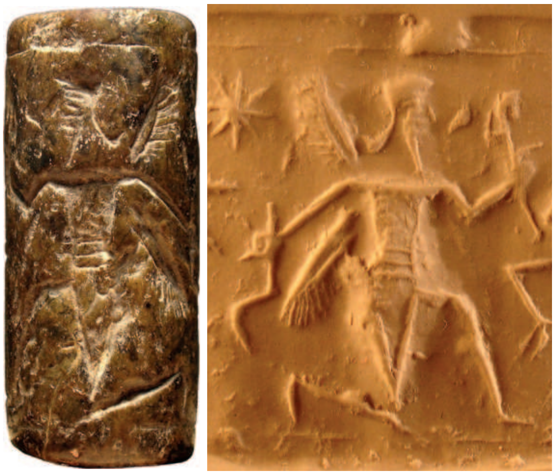
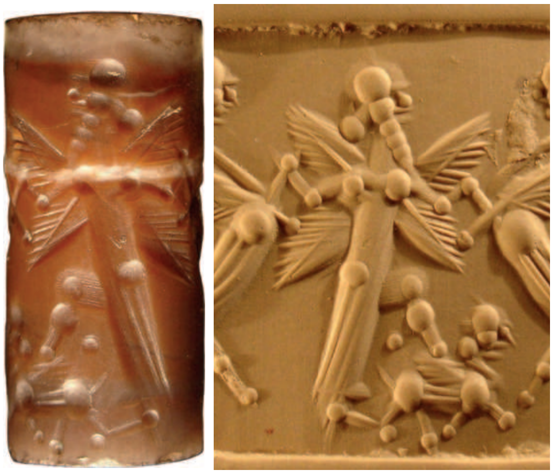
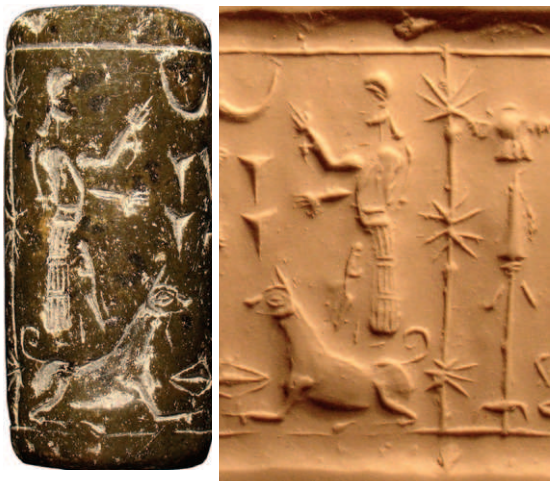

79 (O.2802)

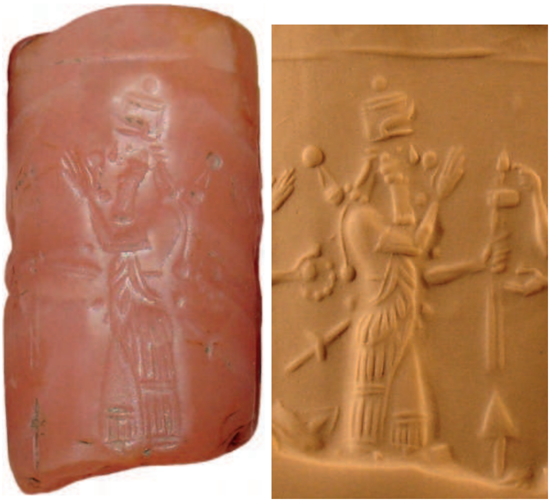
Plate 19

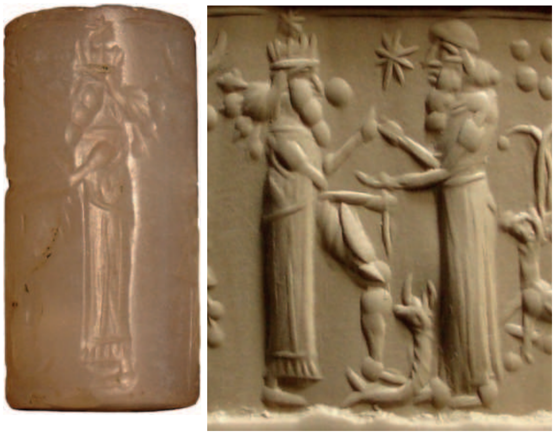
Details of selected cylinder seals and their modern impressions 4 – deities and heroes

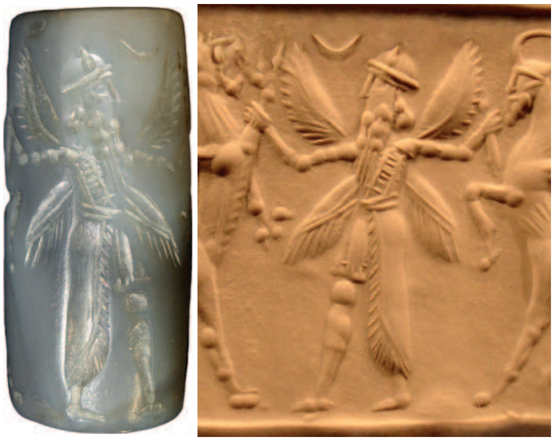

30 (O.2754)


41 (O.2756)


64 (O.3530, TR.4419)

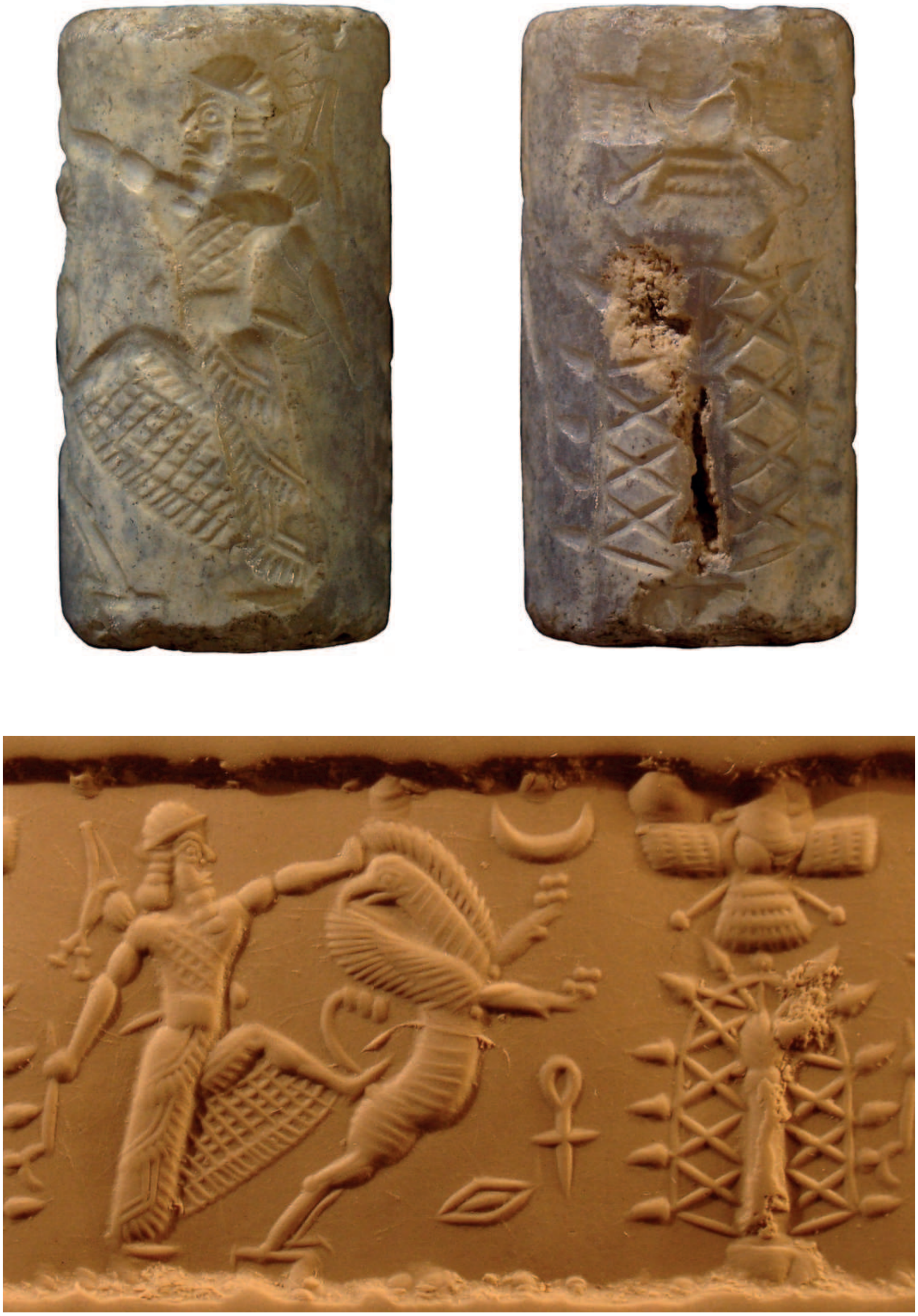

71 (O.2748)


75 (O.560)

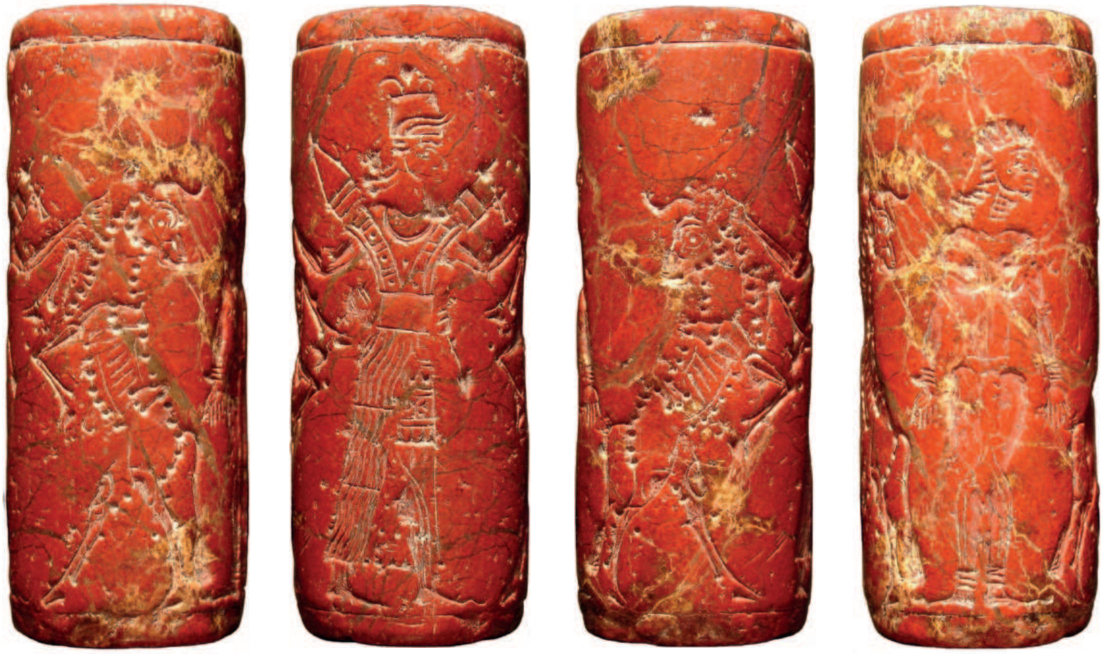

76 (O.2802)

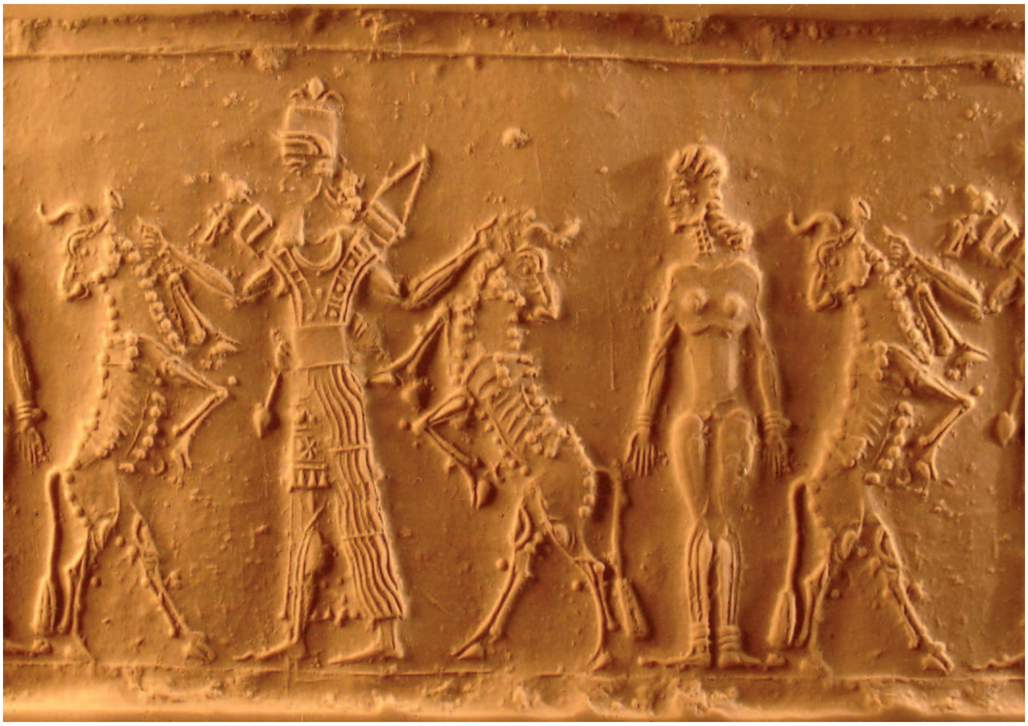
34: O.1486 cylinder seal and its modern impression (enlarged images)

Plate 20



39: O.1032 cylinder seal and its modern impression (enlarged images)





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